A DMIRABLE though the Football Association's proposed inquest on the country's latest failures in Europe may be, it is bound to be flawed by the absence of one of those best qualified to give a perceptive view. For whatever contribution to the debate George Graham might have been able to make, the FA could not possibly accept it, not even in a plain brown envelope.

In winning the Cup Winners' Cup with Arsenal two seasons ago and setting them in train for the final last May Graham showed that, although the English game might be behind the rest of Europe in technique, it was still possible to organise a team to see off some of the better foreign

ham a footballing parish. Yet the Arsenal which at Highbury brought about Manchester United's second Premiership defeat of the season was, in essence, still Graham's Arsenal even if the only goal of the game was scored by Dennis Bergkamp, whose £7.5 million arrival from Internazionale in the summer, along with the Italian-speaking David Platt, appeared to personify the dawning of an age of enlighten-

The victory was built on the defensive solidity and soundness in goal which underwrote Graham's championship triumphs of 1989 and 1991. And while the sight of an Arsenal side getting the ball down and playing it to feet may have conjured up images of Brady or Eastham, it | suggested his art has now come to

working along not dissimilar lines before finesse was abandoned to get the ball quickly up to Wright.

Rioch is nobody's fool. Realising that he did not become manager through Arsenal's failure on the field, he has set out to rearrange the superstructure without disturbing the foundations. "Don't touch the back five, they're OK," was the advice from Graham's old backroom staff, and so Arsenal's latest title challenge will rely as heavily as ever on Adams's leadership, Seaman's goalkeeping and the consistency of Dixon, Bould and Winterburn.

"As they kept saying when I was in America, 'Defence, defence, you need to have a good defence'," said Rioch after last Saturday's game. With his sharp suit, easy manner and professional smile he looked every inch the LA lawyer.

Rioch has been in charge for only a dozen League matches but, if Arsenal's passing continues to inprove at the present rate, then only good can come of it. Yet there is still considerable room for improvement, especially in the matter of final passes and centres.

Saturday's goal, after 14 minutes, owed something to a quick lob up the right by Platt but more to Irwin's failure to play the ball back to Schmeichel first time. Bergkamp's speed and composed finish did the rest.

The Dutchman has now scored seven goals in eight games and his heavy involvement in this match

needs to be remembered that the | terms with the English need for team of Rocastle and Thomas was | graft. But with Wright facing his first suspension of the season, Bergkamp may shortly find himself partnering Hartson, a rather different kind of striker.

Rioch clearly believes he can marry the attacking flair he achieved with Bolton, and which managed to defeat Arsenal a week ago, with Highbury's traditional defensive strengths. Training, he explained, was now all about "sinall-sided games, regular warm-ups, loads of passing, one-touch, two-touch, being comfortable on the ball". For Bergkamp, this must be like going back to primary school.

Some of United's passing became uncharacteristically cramped as Giggs, Keane, Cantona, Butt and Scholes opted for crochet-work rather than broad-weave. But Arsenal still might not have won on Saturday had Seaman been less alert and Cole less profligate.

Cantona, with a wonderfully disguised through-pass, and then keane set up chances for Cole which, even allowing for Seaman's speed off his line, should have been taken. One shot was saved and the other went wide. With his indifferent first touch and only two goals this season, Cole is starting to look like the £7 million sell of the century.

Arsenal have kept seven clean sheets in a dozen league games but McGinlay's goal for Bolton and those Cole should have scored here offered reminders of the habitual squareness of even the better centre-back partnerships that European



Tennis British National Championships

Henman rides onslaught

TIM HENMAN, who claimed only 12 points in the opening set, took an agonising 63 minutes to edge ahead against Greg Rusedski in the final of the national championships before a capacity crowd at Telford on Sunday but only a further 17 to win the title for the first time.

Henman's fighting recovery, built

but a run that may have encourag-ing repercussions for the British

comes in handy. I'm just a little disippointed it does nothing for my

set despite making only 45 per cent of his first serves, became increasingly wayward as he tried to blast his opponent away. "I tried too hard," he admitted later. "That was a mistake."

ing example of Rusedski's income tency. He appears overdepends on his serve - the fastest or c men's tour - and it is less effect. without the right back-up.

go ahead. The people who will get As Henman began expoci Rusedski's limitations in the fe court with short dipping relative struction and the thousands of others who would benefit in the local the match somersaulted in thek seed's favour after he held for? Seven successive games well Henman and, for Rusedski - 16 kept plucking noisily on his rac strings — there was no way bat So sound was Henman on see

flow until the beginning of the next century. The people of the Niger that he dropped only three for delta will see real environmental points on it once he got shead at: penefits if it goes ahead." Rusedski made 10 double fault ninth costing him his serve go start of the third. Rusedski was gracious in 65

Tim showed a lot of character, belief in himself out there. Heat ously felt he could win no at what. He seems very strong tally - and that's good."

only a day after roasting less Bates, who was 55th in m April, should work wonders terest in the plant.

> Austria AS30 Belgium BF75 Denmark DK16 Finland FM 10 France FF 13 Sauci Arable SR 6.50 |
> Germany DM 3.80 Spain P 300 |
> Greece DR 400 Sweden SK 18 |
> Italy L 3,000 Switzerland SF 3.30

Israel resumes

Chirac accused of sexist purge

Blair woos British Industry

David Hockney. reluctant superstar

Kathy Evans In Abu Dhabi and Jonathan Freedland "HE SCOURGE of anti-American terrorism returned to the Mid-

US mission

Riyadh bomb

Weekly

kills six at

dle East on Monday when a bonds exploded outside the offices of a United States military mission in the Saudi capital, Riyadh, killing six people and wounding more than 60. Five of the dead and half of the iniured were Americans.

President Clinton, who sent more than a dozen FBI agents to Riyadh, called the attack an outrage and promised an "enormous effort" to state department said a previously anknown group calling itself the Islamic Movement for Change had claimed responsibility - along with another faction called the Tigers of

The US embassy at Rivadh and the American victims were lour civilians and one soldier. The Saudi interior ministry said the other victim was a Filipino.

The attack was the worst overseas terrorist action against a US target since the 1988 bombing of Pan Am flight 103 over Lockerbie, in which 270 people were killed. In 1983 a suicide bombing of the US military barracks in Beirut killed

The US ambassador in Riyadh. Raymond Mabus, revealed that threats against the American presence in the kingdom had been re-

ceived since the spring.
The Islamic Movement for Change first announced its existence last December, culminating in a communique which singled out "crusader forces", identified as American and British troops.

while most Commonwealth leaders

and at the United Nations, world Speculation can seriously damage leaders were exploring ways to draft

John Major said: "I said I thought this was a fraudulent trial, a bad vermeasures designed to isolate Nigeria which one Foreign Office spokesman described as being both dict. It has now been followed by juvorkable and effective". dicial murder. I do not see how

Shell undeterred by Nigeria hangings

wealth until they return to democraday to consider whether the comtic government." munity can devise sanctions that will do more than merely freeze decondemned to death after a short trial on October 31 in which they velopment aid. Britain has drawn up proposals to be presented to the were denied their choice of defence Africa Working Group in Brussels. lawyers. Mr Saro-Wiwa and the others were accused of complicity in At the top of the list is a Europeion of resunctio

ment and their families. Ian Black adds from Auckland: News of the executions, carried out

Jooni chiefs in 1994. Nigeria in the dock, page 4

Oblivary, page 5 Comment, page 12,

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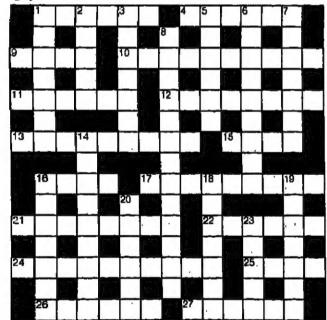
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Cryptic crossword by Araucaria



Across

- The stars that (ail (6) Digital language? (6)
- 9 Tainted like the stars? (4) 10 Forest and castle stagger Sir Bernard (10)
- 11 Alcohol in the bloodstream. maybe after numbered hole (6)
- 12 Firsts first: you get killed returning without it (8)
- 13 1 across refined South African prime minister (4.5)
- 15 Piece canned by star (4).
- 16 Cloher or defined athics (4) 17 Scrub the tea; have salmon on a
- 21 A 25 in beer: take your pick
- ... (6,4) 24 ... Baby? Have one (6,4)
- 26 Composed for a steed? (6 27 One that's lost like a faithful dog.

1 Dog from 1 across to 18? (7)

2 Foot may be in this boot here? 3 (rregular-sounding primate (7) 5 Painter's home and dry (6)

DEST POGGINGE BUTTERSCOTCH VL Y THE S GODA ULTIMATE C C N A E A R
BANKROLL LAIR
B T M P I P
PUTSHIBOARIN

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6 Large bird, switchback with 1 across (3.6) 7 King's companion at French city: his 25 is 1 across (7) 8 Psychotics subvert small hospital having chosen prizes

4 Gave up job when salior departed without punishment (9

6 Scale of clues is wrong (7) 18 Obsolete weapon in 24 (7) 19 Many items — not thousands used for convenience (7)

20 Art investigator could be 9 in the hierarchy (6)

on a more effective serve and superior all-court game, stunned the favourite — who seemed to be cruising at a set and a break up and was deservedly rewarded by the 1-6, 6-3, 6-2 score. At 21 Henman is the youngest winner of the title.

Henman also took both the singles and doubles titles at the Challenger event in Seoul — perhaps not nine days to shake the tennis world

It was the manner of Henman's victory that delighted the Establishment and a weary Henman, too. This is a title I'm proud to have. And the prize-money [£10,250]

Henman's confidence. Victory for Clare Wood ranking," though he hopes to im-prove that in Belling this week. Rusedski, who had won the first women's singles on Saturday third title in seven years, man encouraging end to a disap year. Wood took 57 minutes \$ firm her position as the No defeating the No 8 Samaniha

HELL is to press ahead with fresh investments in Nigeria, the company indicated on Monday, despite worldwide revulsion at the military regime's execution of nine Ogoni activists. The forthright line taken by the etroleum multinational followed high-level meeting between a senior company executive and Foreign Office officials in London on Monday, Its decision not to back away from a £2.5 billion Nigerian gas/oil project came only days after the Commonwealth heads of government, meet-ing in New Zealand, suspended Nigeria's membership of the 53nation group for two years. The Commonwealth leaders warned Nigeria it would be expelled if General Sani Abacha did not institute political and human rights reforms. Nigeria defied international clamour for elemency and executed the writer Ken Saro-Wiwa and eight other environmental activists on Friday last week. The hangings in a

GUARDIAN WEN

Vol 153, No 21

Stephen Bates in Brussels

Port Harcourt prison prompted

worklwide condemnation and de

A Foreign Office spokesman said

the British government had no pow-

ers at present to prevent Shell pro-

ceeding with the Nigerian gas/oil project. The Prime Minister earlier

signalled that the Government

might apply pressure for the deal to

be dropped if it was felt the new

plant would directly prop up the mil

A Shell spokesman insisted on

Monday: "We have to be clear about

who gets hurt if this deal does not

hurt are more than 6,000 Nigerians

who will be denied work in its con-

"It is not the present Nigerian

government who will benefit be-

cause the revenues will not start to

mands for sanctions.

and Owen Bowcott

Overshadowed . . . Great Britain's women hockey team warmed for the Olympic qualifying tournament by completing a white-us on Russia, beating the visitors in all three Tests at Bisham Abby.

'Nigeria must be expelled, not just suspended, from the Commonwealth and subjected to immediate international sanctions. No one, of course, can be absolutely sure whether stronger action would have prevented Nigeria's leaders from flouting world opinion in such a bloody way: but it might at least have prevented General Abacha from believing that the West would merely wring its hands in ritual sorrow while retaining its strong trading links with Nigeria." - Comment, page 12

Nigeria can stay in the Common

All nine Ogoni activists had been

were asleep in Auckland, delivered a body blow to the organisation.

The multinational holds 24 per European Union ambassadors cent of the Nigerian Liquefied Nat-ural Gas Ltd (NLNG), whose board vere meeting in Brussels on Tueswas due to meet on Wednesday to discuss whether to go ahead with the project. The Nigerian government holds 49 per cent of the jointventure company, the Italian firm Agip holds 10 per cent, and the

French producer Elf 15 per cent. ration, a subsidiary of the World members of the Nigerlan govern Bank, has already announced it will not take up its former 2 per cent in-

> Malta 45c Netherlands G 4.75 Norway NK 16 Portugal £300

troop withdrawal

Religious extremism is the new threat to peace

T IS ironic that I, a Jordanian | rent violation of Torah principles by the government of Israel", they then sination of Rabin. Whether they like it or not, Israelis and Arabs are now united by a new bond: the future of the region. Yet Arabs and Israelis are also challenged by a mutual threat: religious extremism. Israelis and Arabs are surrounded by seas in which myopic sharks devour liberalminded Arabs and Jews. If we, as citizens, cannot confront extremists' vile acts, we should at least distance ourselves from their actions, physically and intellectually.

Lu'Avy Minwer Al-Rimawi.

Law Department, London School of Economics, London

IN ONE respect the assassination of Yitzhak Rabin has advanced the cause of peace in the Middle East. It has demonstrated that, at the deepest level, the historic Jewish-Muslim division no longer exists. What unites peace-lovers on either side is now so much stronger than what divides them. For both Israelis and Palestinians, the fundamental question is not "What name do you give your God?" but "Do you have peace and love in your heart?" Jeremy and Rosemary Goring, Lewes, East Sussex

OUR readers may not be aware of the constant stream of hatre directed against Yitzhak Rabin and Shimon Peres by Jewish religious extremists since the peace agreements were signed. Here is a small sample, taken from one recent issue of the New York Jewish Press.

The editors freely cast doubt on the democratic legitimacy of the gov-ernment: after denouncing "the cur-

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claim that "the Israeli government ... conducts its affairs as a dictatorship". Columnist Gary M Cooperberg refers to "the power brokers

The use of militaristic language is continued in a column by Yitzhak Shamir, who refers to "the war against the present policies of the government". Prof Howard L Adelson talks of "the Rabin-Peres attack on Jewish shrines", and Ron Nachman, Likud MK, Mayor of Ariel, writes ominously: "When the first victims of [the peace] agreement fall, someone will have to pay the

The worst abuse is left to the leters page. Writing from Jerusalem, Binyamin Lemkin refers to "the war and terror process which Rabin and Peres and Aralat are conducting".

I am not suggesting that any of these people were involved in the assassination, nor that they derived any satisfaction from it. It is obvious, though, that months of this crude invective have now taken their toll by creating a climate in which violence flourishes. By stirring up hatred and hysteria. the Jewish religious right have blood on their hands.

Raphael Salkie,

The Guardian

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WHY DO you say (Editorial, No-vember 12) that the Israeli state's practice of assassinating its enemies is "a dubious proposition both in tactical and moral terms"? No one can be in any serious doubt that such a practice is murder, illegal and regarded by most sane

Weekly

£47.00

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people as morally wrong. Yitzhak Rabin's killer will no doubt say that he acted to save Israel. Rabin no doubt approved Fathi Shqaqi's murder on the same basis. Isn't it time to doubt a bit less and condemn a John Spencer.

Tactical voting in Quebec

JOUR VARIOUS articles on the Quebec referendum (November 12) did not mention some peculiarities of the vote. One is that rural areas (which are predominantly Francophone) voted overwhelmingly "Yea", while the urban Francophone vote tended to be "No". On the Island of Montreal, the

"Yes" vote was 34 per cent, and even when the "ethnic" vote is factored out, the vote of Francophones was approximately 58/40 per cent against with 2 per cent of ballots spoiled. In addition, in Quebec City, which is almost entirely French, the "Yes" side won by only 3 percentage points. This suggests that the economic arguments of the federalist side were heeded by those who feared (rightly or wrongly) that the independence of Quebec would endanger their livelihoods.

In addition, the referendum question was worded in such a manner that it attracted not only avowed separatists, but also the so-called "strategic" voters. These are Quebec nationalists opposed to independence who believed that the "No" vote would prevail easily, and who voted "Yes" because they believed that it would give Quebec greater bargaining strength in future negotiations with the federal government.

If there is another referendum, i s likely that there will be major modifications of tactics employed by both sides in an attempt to secure the French vote that eluded hem on October 30. Under such alered circumstances, a victory for independence is far from certain. Campbell Perry. Montreal, Canada

Aid givers must set tough rules

 $D^{o\, {\it THE}}_{\rm isations}$ really believe their own pretentious idealism, or do they deliberately obfuscate development is sues to further their own ends? You report (October 15) that these agencies placed a full-page advertisement in the Times newspaper warning that cuts in British aid, amounting to £275 million, would have a devastating effect on, among other projects, reproductive health n Kenya and family planning in

To put these cuts in perspective one only had to turn the page of your paper and read that £166 milion has been misappropriated from ouc runds in Kenya. As for devi opment priorities in Pakistan, this country is set to make its biggest Sterling cheque drawn on U.K. bank/Sterling Eurocheque military deal with France: the purchase of 32 Mirage 2000S fighter aircraft at the cost of about £2 billion - nearly as much as the total

British aid budget. In Zimbabwe we experience the same bizarre sense of priorities. While a massive Z\$2 billion was allocated to our Ministry of Defence, a measly Z\$40 million — only onemeasly Z\$40 million — only one-sixth of the funding required — was | Delia Knight, Alicante, Spain

budgeted for a desperately needed supplementary feeding programme for children. Instead of cutting military expenditure to feed its own people, the government uses the plight of the hapless and the starying to cajole western governments to replenish its begging bowl. According to a local newspaper report, the Zimbabwean government is now "satisfied" with the Z\$1 billion pledged by international donors for food aid.

While Oxfam self-righteously lambasts World Bank economic reforms, it has remained sheepish about the devastating effect of rampant corruption and the utter waste of resources on military expenditure. Rather than asking Kenneth Clarke which British aid projects he would cut, agencies would be better advised to direct their rhetorical questions to leaders of recipient countries, whose hideous distorions in spending patterns and callous disregard for their own people should be at the top of the agenda at the Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting in Auckland.

Mr Clarke's job should be to ensure that British taxpayers' money only goes to those countries which have taken a strong stand against corruption at the highest level, whose priorities lie with development rather than defence spending, and which encourage the growth of human rights, democratic government and civil society. For their part, aid agencies should spend more time and effort encouraging fairer world trade in agricultural commodities - especially with the European Union. Dale Dore.

Harare. Zimbabwe

Ralph will be sorely missed

Weekly last Friday and read that Ralph Whitlock had died, I

The smiling young man holding the badger was one of the earliest personalities I got to know through radio, or "on the wireless", as I was

Now I'm nearly 60, and I live far from the English countryside that Ralph Whitlock taught us all so much about. So when I read of his death, it was as though some tie uniting me with my own childhood had been snapped. How much I looked forward each week to his column, which carried all the flavour of rural England.

He taught me not only to value my native countryside, but to interest myself in the details of nature wherever I happen to be, so this morning I went about feeding my sheep, goats and donkeys, and watching the nuthatches and purple finches flutter round the feeder in the cold November wind with a sharper eye and a deeper pleasure because of Ralph.

Stephanie Wenk, Salem, New York, USA

IWAS very saddened to read of the death of Ralph Whitlock. I am sure I am not the only reader who will sorely miss his delightful contributions to your paper. Maybe my son, to whom I would often read Mr Whitlock's stories, can offer us some consolation. "But have his stories died?" he asked.

No, love, they haven't.

to the Maoris for land improper

taken from their ancestors and t

We are now drawing the Japanes

government's attention to the New

Zealand example of apology and an

requesting, once again, that the

pay compensation to its civilian and

PoW victims for suffering inflicted

A NNA STEINITZ asks (November 5): "How is it that we can

locate the Titanic, put men on the

moon and invent the nuclear mis-

sile, but women still can't get sale

The answer is that they can A

modern contraceptives are a la

safer and more reliable than any of

IWAS GOING to suggest a Millio

Woman March — until I realised

that we women are far too busy

earning a living and/or giving our

husbands/partners the kind of ser-

vice they could only otherwise ex

pect in a first-class hotel; and raising

our children with, often, very little

[NHIS letter of October 22

C Chevalier of Solumon Islands

says he wants to disown his French

heritage by changing his name. May I point out that "Evil Reach" is an ana

gram of his surname that adequately

sums up what many people think of

THE SUCCESS of the UN's for-

mer Special Representative b

Burundi, Ahmed Ould Abdallab. i

preventing genocide "spreading

north from Rwanda" ("Decline and

fall of a blue empire", October 29) is

complete. Burundi is to the southof

Rwanda. Perhaps the error was due

to "the West's promiseuous and

UN Department of Humanitarian

IN THE review of Oasis's concert

at Earls Court (November 12)

Noel Gallagher is quoted as using the word fook. Why is "dialect"

spelling used so patronisingly? Gal-

lagher speaks and sings in English

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so quote him in Standard English.

selective attention span".

Ben Parker.

Affairs, Nairobi, Kenya

French nuclear tests in the Pacific.

Cochabamba, Bolivia

and reliable contraception?"

the activities she mentions.

amberoo, NSW, Australia

Leszek Zietara,

Helen Cox

Porlock, England

Association of British Civilian

uternees, Northington, Hants

atone as far as is now possible.

Briefly

K J Martin.

Israel resumes its /OU REPORT (November that the Queen signed legs lation in New Zealand to apologie troop withdrawal

Derek Brown in Jerusalem

GUARDIAN WEEKLY

SRAEL pulled its last troops out of the West Bank town of Jenin on Sunday, marking a vital step on the road to Palestinian The evacuation was also a tangi-

ble signal that the government will redeem its pledge to carry on with the self-rule peace policy endorsed by the late prime minister, Yitzhak

At the same time the government innounced that it had taken the unisual step of banning a Jew identified with a "terrorist" group from entering Israel. The name of the would-be immi-

grant and his nationality were not disclosed, but he was described as an activist of the outlawed Kach movement which has its main base in the United States. Israeli law offiially welcomes immigrants of Jew-

One of the last peace moves made by Mr Rabin, assassinated by a Jewish fundamentalist gunman in Tel Aviv on November 4, was the agreement with the Palestine Liberation Organisation to pull troops out of the six biggest towns in the West Bank by the end of the year. Jenin was the first of those towns. Nablus, Qalqilya, Bethlehem, Ramallah and Tulkarm will follow. There will also be a partial pullout from Hebron.

The Palestinian Authority headed by the PLO chairman, Yasser Arafat, will also have limited security powers in 450 West Bank villages, while Israel will retain control of about 130 Jewish settlements.

Shimon Peres, the acting prime minister, told a special memorial session of the Knesset (parliament) on Sunday: "We will keep all the commitments we have made: security for Israel and Israelis, and respect of all the principles we agreed with the Palestinians; peace with Egypt and Jordan, and seeking peace with Syria and Lebanon."

In Jenin, the final evacuation was greeted with relief and celebration. Many Palestinians believed the assassination might undermine the government's will and ability to keep to the timetable.

In the event, the pullout hap-pened almost exactly on schedule. earlier arrived from Jericho.

on the police investigation which has so far netted at least seven suspects in the assassination case, including Yigal Amir, the 25-year-old law student who fired the fatal shots. The police, who have imposed a virtual news blackout on developments, said on Sunday that they believed the killing was plotted by a core of three men, and that oth-

halachic (Jewish religious) law.

Two rabbis from the occupied West Bank have denied knowing of the assassination or justifying it Dov Lior of Kiryat Arba and Nahum Rabinovich of Ma'aleh Adumim op pose the self-rule accord. Rabbi Rapinovich told Israel Radio that the allegations against him were "utterly false. They have not the least shred of truth". He insisted that he advocated only passive opposition. Last week, Yasser Arafat set foot

in Israel proper for the first time to visit Mr Rabin's widow, Leah. He landed at Dov airport, outside Tel Aviv, and was whisked away by car to the Rabin flat in the north of the city. Mr Arafat, asked later what he had said to Mrs Rabin, replied: That we lost a great man who made the peace of the brave with us. He was our partner and we thank you for continuing his road and

 Yitzhak Rabin's name was missoelt on a sign at the square renamed Yitzhak Rabin Square in his honour after his assassination. The sign, unveiled on Sunday night at a memorial

The last 15 Israeli Jeens left the town's main army post just before dawn, escorted by some of the 350 or so Palestinian police who had In Israel, attention was focused

ers knew of the plan.

Yigal Amir's brother Haggai, also under arrest, has said in court that the murder was sanctioned by

rally in the square, spelt his name in English as "Yizhaq Rabbin".



Welcome relief . . . Crowds mob Palestinian police officers arriving

Widow pays tribute to Rabin

SRAEL brought a week of mourning for its slain prime minister to a climax on Sunday with a mass plea to his successor: press on with peace, Derek **Brown and Martin Woollacott** report in Tel Aviv. Up to 250,000 people con-

verged on the Square of the Kings of Israel, now officially re-named Yitzhak Rabin Square. In contrast to the security

shambles which cost Rabin his life, the speakers' platform was surrounded by bodyguards and police. Helicopters beamed searchlights on to the crowds and the surrounding buildings. each crusted with sharpshooters

Leah Rabin told her murdered husband of the crowds in the square and those at the funeral in Mount Herzl National Cemetery, Jerusalem. She told

him of the world leaders who had attended that funeral, of the candles that had been lit throughout the land.

"All the world has mourned vou and cried over you; our whole country for a whole week has been weeping for you," she said. Many in the crowd were weeping as she called on Shimon Peres, the acting prime minister, to carry on down the road to peace "and not to stop in any circumstances".

That plea was endorsed by the vast majority of the crowd. Some, like Rachel, a social worker, aged 46, said they had heen there the night Rabin was killed. "I have returned here many times. I supported him. and I support him now."

Washington Post, page 13

N-test stance China presses for army in Hong Kong cut its armed forces in Hong Kong from nearly 13,000 to 3,250 men. Andrew Higgins in Hong Kong

angers Major

JOHN MAJOR furiously dissoci-ated Britain last week from a Commonwealth statement condemning nuclear testing, even though in a remarkable feat of diplomacy the document did not mention France's controversial blasts in the south-Pacific, writes Ian Black in Auckland

In the Commonwealth statement. negotiated long and hard throughout the first day of the Auckland summit, heads of government noted the widespread anger caused by the current programmes of nu- | 1997. clear weapon tests".

think what they say in their state token PLA presence before 1997. ment is factually inaccurate, intellecknow it. I've made it perfectly clear: leagues is just plain wrong, just around on this."

The demand has

CHINA is demanding that Britain allow the People's Liberation Army to start moving troops into Hong Kong before the territory reverts to Chinese rule and the last colonial forces pull out in 600 days, senior British sources said last week.

Beijing argues that the arrival of some PLA units before Britain's final retreat from empire would avoid both a security vacuum and the shock of large-scale troop movements when the Union flag comes down at midnight on June 30

In preliminary discussions by the But Mr Major, replaying Mar | Joint Liaison Group, a Sino-British garet Thatcher's many spats with body set up to oversee the transi-Commonwealth colleagues, said: "I tion, Britain has rejected all but a "It has always been a possibility

tually inconsistent and unbalanced. I that they would want to bring in a few I haven't signed up for that and they people in advance," a British official know it. I've made it perfectly clear: said. "But the Chinese want to have think the view that has been expressed by our Commonwealth col- silow . . . We will not be pushed

an attempt by Beijing to establish a substantial pre-handover military presence in Hong Kong, parallel to a shadow government already taking shape. China is due to name Hong Kong's post-colonial governor, to be gest about 15,000. known as the chief executive, next year. Considerable power has already been transferred to Beljing-

appointed advisory bodies. But while many in Hong Kong have come to terms with the politi cal shift, most are anxious about the : army's future role. Under an agreement reached last year, China will including British military headquar-ters in the Prince of Wales building, a high-rise office block in the central business district.

The post-1997 constitution — the Beijing-drafted Basic Law promises PLA troops will "not inter-fere in local affairs". But China's leader, Deng Xiaoping, has warned that Beijing would use military force in the event of "turmoil" - the same term used to define the 1989 Tiananaround on this."

men Square democracy railies.

PLA experts se

The demand has stirred fears of

In the past decade, Britain has

Liaison Group.

eran thought to be in charge of preparations for the garrison, told a pro-Beijing Hong Kong newspaper that the selection and training of "crack troops" for the territory was well underway. In a sign of the PLA's eagerness to take over, its future commander

is reported to have attended an Army Day military rally just over the border in Shenzhen on August 1. Britain, meanwhile, continues to pare down its last important colonial military outpost. A battalion of Gurkhas is due to leave next November. Other units will follow. leaving a squadron of helicopters and a few naval patrol boats.

China's military presence is at present limited to a small staff of PLA experts seconded to the Joint

US clinches Slavonia peace deal

Julian Borger in Zagreb

C ERBS in the breakaway region of Eastern Slavonia agreed on Sunday to accept Croat sovereignty, ending their four-year rebellion and marking the first significant achievement of the US-sponsored talks in Dayton, Ohio.

Under the agreement, the region will be administered by an international force for up to two years before being fully reintegrated into Croatia. Both sides, diplomats say, have asked for US troops.

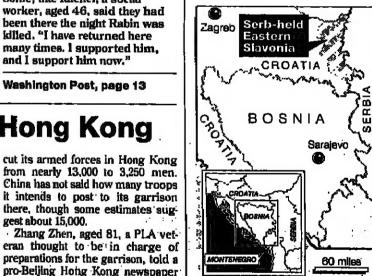
The transitional administration will oversee the demilitarisation of the region within its first month, and will encourage the return of

The deal followed a week of brinkmanship, during which the Serbs rejected Zagreb's peace proposals and Croat troops massed around the 20-mile-wide strip of land, threatening to retake it by

The US ambassador to Croatia, Peter Galbraith, said on Sunday: "For the first time in this conflict, an issue has been resolved peacefully by signatures and not by bullets."

His fellow mediator, the UN envoy Thorvald Stoltenberg, said: "I think we have experienced the start of the end of the war in ex-Yugoslavia." The signing is expected to clear the way for mutual recognition between Serbia and Croatia.

The agreement was signed first by the Croat Serb leader, Milan Mianovic, in the Slavonian town of Erdut and then rushed by road to Zagreb, 110 miles to the west, for signature by the Croat government But the deal was shaped in Dayton. by the Croat president Franjo Tudjman and his Serbian counterpart Slobodan Milosevic.



troops to Bosnia under American command, to help Nato implement a future peace settlement there.

an overall system of political control for peace implementation in Bosnia it will be the first time Russian troops serve alongside Nato and under US command. In a deal reached on Sunday, Moscow insisted on a complex arrangement to ensure none of its soldiers come under direct Nato command. Instead the Russian troops will take orders from Nato's American supreme military commander, General George Julwan.

Washington Post, page 13

@

Chris McGreal in Lagos

FALL those dragged before General Sani Abacha's kangaroo courts few unnerved Nigeria's military dictatorship as much as Ken Saro-Wiwa.

The writer turned environmental crusader against Shell's abuse of his native Ogoniland was an unlikely threat. Saro-Wiwa was in no position to plot coups or organise nationwide strikes, activities for which former military ruler General Olusegun Obasanjo and others are jailed. He did not claim to be president, which is why Moshood Abiola is locked away awaiting trial for treason and a possible death sentence.

Saro-Wiwa's political base was limited to a thumbprint on the map of Nigeria - Ogoniland, whose people account for just half of one per cent of the country's population. Yet when Gen Abacha weighed up the consequences of execution with appeals and threats from around the world, he saw Saro-Wiwa as peril enough to barely hesitate to dispatch him and eight others to the

within Nigeria, not from inter-

The Ogonis' defiance posed one of the most serious challenges to Nigeria's power structure since the Biafran war because it was an example of effective organised resistance that could not be quelled with money or threats. It also raised the spectre of separatism in a country of 250 ethnic groups. And it touched one of the army's rawest nerves its source of cash.

Saro-Wiwa channelled Ogoni anger at three decades of exploitation of their lands by Shell with little to show for the billions of dollars made by polluted fields, gas flares and pipelines scarring villages. The company was callous in its treatment of the Ogonis despite its belated efforts to clean up its image.

When Shell was forced out of Ogoniland in 1993, the army lost a slice of its pie. Nigeria's military rulers met the challenge with their tested tactics of violence and co- proved the point.

option. Since 1993, the army and police have descended on Ogoniland, slaughtering villagers and blaming the killings on ethnic rivalries. The government bought off village chiefs in the hope they would keep their subjects in line. The strategy backfired.

Claude Ake, a mediator in the conflict, says that for the first time the military was confronted by a rement it was unable to

"Ogoni was the most fundamental challenge to the Nigerian system it had seen. It is important to some people that this does not work because there has been no instance where people have been so mobilised for a cause. Ogoni is the only place in Nigeria where you can go where there is no possibility of winning an election by corruption."

Yet if Saro-Wiwa was anything to other Nigerians it was as an example, not a cause. While his struggle struck a chord with the Ibos in eastern Nigeria, they remember with bitterness Saro-Wiwa's role within the federal government against their own ill-fated struggle to con-To Gen Abacha the danger lurks | trol their resources and destiny through the separatist Biafran state.

And while there was admiration for his stand, his pursuit of Ogoni interests sometimes at the expense of the quest for broader democratic change in Nigeria deprived him of more active backing beyond his

Above all, while most Nigerians do not believe Saro-Wiwa ordered the deaths of the four Ogoni traditional chiefs he was accused of conspiring to kill, there is much debate over whether he helped create a climate which made the killings possible. His Mosop movement routinely denigrated chiefs as "vultures" and some in its youth wing were said to be increasingly thuggish and out of

Gen Abacha bowed to international pressure to spare the lives of Gen Obasanjo and other alleged coup plotters earlier this year. He was determined it should not be interpreted as weakness. Saro-Wiwa



Ken Saro-Wiwa: 'I accuse the oil companies in Ogoni of encouraging genocide against the Ogoni people'

Ogoni leader's final words

NONE of his last television interviews, Ken Saro-Wiva accused multinational oil companies of racism and appealed for international help for the Ogoni people.

"I've been [campaigning] for 20 years and at this age there's really nothing to fear. I think we've seen a lot of dictators collapse in the past and these one are going to collapse as well.

"I accuse the ethnic majority who run Nigeria of practising genocide against the Ogoni people. I accuse the oil companies who prospect for oil in Ogoni of encouraging genocide against the Ogoni people.

"I accuse [them] of practising racism against the Ogoni people I appeal to the international community who buy oil from Nigeria to come to the aid of the Ogoni people and stop this

"I would like to appeal to the United Nations to come to the aid of the Ogoni now, to stop this genocide. Because if nothing is done today in 10 years time the PHOTOGRAPH TIM STOCKHILL/REX. | Ogoni people will be extinct."

Trade gives big business few qualms

David Pallister, Mark Milner and Dan Atkinson

A NY proposal for non-oil trade sanctions against Nigeria runs up against the reality that, despite the parlous state of its economy and its £23 billion external debt, multinational corporations are making huge profits there - which increased by 75 per cent last year.

Britain, the largest seller of indus trial exports to Nigeria, enjoyed a healthy surplus of £333 million last year. Although some big British companies, including ICI and Wellome, have disinvested, others such s Guinness, Cadbury, Paterson Zochonis and Lever Brothers prosper. British investment is estimated

at about £3.4 billion The French have been enthusiastic players in recent years and rank cent of foreign investment. They | investigating money laundering. lead in a number of areas, such as tyres from Michelin, Peugeot cars, Bouygues Offshore, the oil field contractor, and Julius Berger the construction giant.

Freezing bank deposits would hit the regime. Nigerian deposits with banks in London total £1.68 billion compared with UK bank lending to Nigerian entities of £300 million "Going for countries' assets is far

more effective than going for their debts," said one banking insider. However, any freeze on Nigerian bank accounts would almost certainly be carried out under Britain's United Nations Act, which would re-

quire a Security Council resolution. Another possibility would be to freeze assets held abroad by menibers of the junta. But this would be an enormous task, according to a British banker who is involved in

He named a central London branch of a leading British bank as the main recipient: "We call it the wishy-washy bank. Nigerians have aundered millions of pounds brough London for years, but the, beneficial owners are always well

John Major's announcement a the weekend of a tightened arms embargo is unlikely to affect current contracts. Vickers is selling 80 tanks costing £150 million. Last year 18 were delivered to the junta's armoured regiments — the backbone of the army and guarantor of mili-

The World Development Movement said it would be pressing Mr Major to make the embargo retrospective, hitting the Vickers order and ensuring that non-lethal and

just when history most needed him Right now, Abiola's main success in internationalising Nigerian politics, a rare phenomenon since the

was slow to appreciate the plight of Nigerian exiles; they were flerce proud, and so resented outside opinion, that the steady deterioration in their country went largely unreported. International opinion is now ikely to be the only effective opposition to the present regime.

Trade sanctions against Nigerian oil would hurt most; damage to ordinary Nigerians would be marginal. cent of foreign exchange earnings) have hardly been reaching mo Nigerians, whose incomes have been so eroded by inflation that many face starvation, as well as hospitals without drugs, and other basic amenities. Loss of oil money

Courageous campaign of a writer

Ken Saro-Wiwa

GUARDIAN WEEKLY

I T IS a supreme irony that the death of Ken Saro-Wiwa, the Nigerian environmental activist, usinessman and writer, at the age of 54 should have come in such a grotesque manner: tried and conlemned by a tribunal instead of an ordinary court of law, denied the right of appeal, and hanged. Nothing about his origins nor, indeed, the course of most of his life. indicated even remotely that things would come to this terrible pass. Saro-Wiwa was born in Bori, near

Port Harcourt, capital of Rivers State in Nigeria. He was a brilliant student, and government scholar ships saw him through Government ollege, Umuahia, and the University of Ibadan - two famous institutions which some other notable Nigerian writers, including Chinua Achebe, had also attended.

He taught briefly at the universities of Ibadan and Nigeria tat Nsukka) before the outbreak of the Nigerian civil war in 1967. Stridently mti-Biafran (until his death he wrote the name with a lower case *b7, Saro-Wiwa pitched his camp with the federal authorities. He was appointed the administrator of the ill port of Bonny, and in 1968 became one of the first cabinet members in the newly created Rivers State, where he alternately held the powerful portfolios of education and

Out of government, Saro-Wiwa urned to business, which he ran alongside his real love of writing He made good on both scores. He could afford to send his son to Eton; and had to his credit more than 20 titles in all genres of literature.

There are four novels, a poetry volume, two books of short stories, three titles on general topics, two drama volumes, one on folklore and nine children's books. And this output does not include the extensive pamphleteering on behalf of the Ogoni cause. His Tambari and Tambari In Dukana, both written for rhildren, were published by

All the others are published by his Saros International Publishers. Last year, Longman reissued his azaboy: A Novel In Rotten English. which received an honourable menion at the Noma Award for Publishing in Africa. Only last month the same publishers reissued A Forest Of Flowers, his first collection of short stories which was shortlisted or the Commonwealth Writers Prize in 1987

Saro-Wiwa was also at different times an engaging newspaper columnist for Punch, Vanguard and the Daily Times, all Lagos-based dailies. Whether in journalism or in creative writing, he exposed a nation cracking up under the pressures of aladministration, corporate greed, doth, ignorance and mercenary self-interest, while its people struggle against government neglect and e, racketeering, poverty, di ease, superstition and ethnic mistrust" - to quote the apposite comment on the blurb accompanyng A Forest Of Flowers.

Sometime in 1991, Saro-Wiwa decided to abandon "everything" and devote himself to the Ogoni struggle, which until then he had comined with his other activities.

Towards the end of 1992 he was struck by tragedy when his son at Eton dropped dead during a game of rugby. Something Inside Saro-

Wiwa seemed to have died as a re- | found, he sensitised his people to sult, From then on he lived only for he Ogoni struggle.

Before long he complained that the military authorities had turned a deaf ear to the demands of his people. He said the only option left was to attract the attention of the international community. In July 1992 he addressed the United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Populations in Geneva and followed this May last year he complained that Shell had put a worldwide surveilup with a visit to the UN in New

He began recording scenes of oil pollution and gas flaring in Ogoniand. Using the platform of the Ogoni People, which he helped

the politics and economics of oil.

Greenpeace and other environmental groups soon took up the Ogoni case and picketing of Shell offices in London became commonplace. Saro-Wiwa had become an acute embarrassment to oil companies operating in Nigeria and to his country's military rulers. During his last visit to London in

lance on his movements. He said it was obvious that the military regime in Nigeria was feeling the heat of the Ogoni struggle. Shortly after his return to Nigeria

he was charged with multiple mur-

der, although it was established that he was not at the scene of the killings. But Justice Ibrahim Auta, the tribunal chairman, warned: "If an accused was not directly involved in a crime, he could still be convicted if he encouraged the act." And the tribunal is empowered to

pronounce only capital punishment.

So, the Nigerian state has killed Ken Saro-Wiwa. The man I knew. the one who was my friend for more than a decade, who believed in combat - the combat of the written and spoken word. If he opposed any-thing, he went to great lengths to leave nobody in doubt as to where he stood. Perhaps his eternal mis take was that he chose to rail at those who saw themselves in superhuman terms, people who would brook no opposition.

But he always insisted that the

Ogoni would demand their rights peacefully. He showed impatience each time it was alleged that he was planning for the Ogoni to secede. "I am not a fool," he would declare. "The Ogoni are only 500,000. Nige-

ria is about 100 million.' Somebody wanted to know the meaning of Saro-Wiwa's death. Simple. It means that nothing has

He is survived by his wife. Hauwa, his children, one of whom, Ken, has been the foremost campaigner for his father's freedom, and his father and mother, aged 91 and 75 respectively.

Chuks Iloegbunam

Kenule Reeson Saro-Wiwa writer and environmentalist, born October 10. 1941; died November 10, 1995

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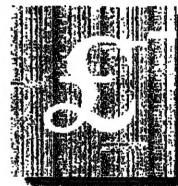
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Only sanctions will restore sanity COMMENT The only conceivable explanation for the execution of Saro-Wiwa in Ad'Obe Obe

F THE current momentum of international opinion against Nigeria is sustained, Ken Saro-Wiwa may posthumously achieve his final ambition — to force soldiers out of leadership in Nigeria.

Saro-Wiwa had concluded that the military were now behaving more like an occupation army than professionals trained in disciplined leadership. His call for the Republic of Ogoni arose from his quarrel with the thugs in uniform who steadily pocketed the proceeds of the natural wealth extracted from Ogoni soil. He was campaigning to be elected to the constituent assembly convened by General Sani Abacha. He shared than personal greed, as motivation the view of writer Chinua Achebe for leadership. The man credited that there is nothing wrong with Nigerians, only with their leadership

defiance of international protest is that Abacha has become power drunk after his apparent success in neutralising internal opposition. Abacha could have calculated that detaining Chief Abiola and sentencing General Olusegun Obasanjo were more serious offences in the

("Nigeria is a great country made

eyes of the international community. Insanity is a word often used by Nigerians to describe their sociopolitical conditions. General Oba-

The most effective weapon in General Abacha's hand today is a alleged disappearance of \$12 billion national psyche accustomed to the absence of any principles, other with shaping that psyche and using it very successfully is General Ibrahim Babangida. He introduced

vocal Nigerians what they wanted
— mostly money — while he kept
control of Nigerian politics for eight years of "programmes of transition to democracy". Nigerians woke up too late to dis-

cover that he had no intention of leaving office and they had so compromised themselves with him that there was little they could do about it. Only accidentally did an election he had arranged to abort produce a result that checkmated him. Today, he is not only a free man, but is also now head of state General Abacha. Abacha is sitting on a report into the of oil money in Babangida's years. To ordinary Nigerians, all this is

perfectly normal. Babangida's legacy to Abacha is this: everyone has a price - and first. Nigerlans believed there was was a major disappointment that Ad'Obe Obe is a former editor of the politics of settlement: he gave hope when Abacha appointed as Chief Abiola absconded to London West Africa magazine

ministers many of those who had dared to oppose Babangida and acquired the reputation of radical thinkers. He allowed them to make noises about policy, allocated them money to award contracts, and then fixed them after 18 months during which he formally met with them less than half a dozen times. The nation did not miss them, nor did

Abacha conferred with Chief Abiola before assuming power; it is said that he "settled" Abiola with the huge sum Babangida had paid in connection with his withdrawn claim to the presidency won in the sanjo once said: "If Nigeria were an individual, he would have long been believed to be regularly in touch with his erstwhile number two — that Abiola was promised the presidency. In spite of a vocal pro-Abiola movement, many Nigerians think his present detention is less martyrdom than the result of a falling-out

with Abacha. An African diplomat who witnessed the scene in Lagos said will be most felt in the generals Nigerian history would have completely changed had there been Nigerian politicians are cheap. At someone to lead the opposition. It

end of the Biafran war. Until now, international opinion

pockets, or in their overseas bank

GUARDIAN WEEKLY

The Week



The US this week

Martin Walker

OLIN POWELL'S decision not to contest the 1996 presidential elections was made, he insists, as he woke up on the morning before the assassination of Israel's prime minister Yitzhak Rabin. Even before that reminder of his wife's constant worries about a black president's vulnerability to nut with a gun, Powell decided he did not have the stomach for the presidential race. And most observers have taken him at his word: that he lacked the essential fire in the belly for the gruelling business of running, and for the job itself.

Powell put an honourable and high-minded gloss on this decision, but there was a whiff of Vietnam in the air. Powell was part of a generation of mid-ranking army officers who learned in Vietnam to shrink from any war they could not be sure of winning. The Powell rules of military engagement, as deployed at the Pentagon, required overwhelming force and overwhelming firepower full public and congressional support, a clear political goal, an obvious way out, and victory guaranteed.

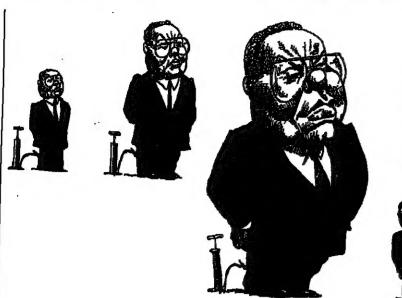
Understandably after Vietnam, these rules imposed strategic timidity on the world's last superpower, and that timidity now appears to have a domestic political dimension as well. Once again, it may be said, General Powell has judiciously avoided a final battle with the Republican Guard. He did not relish a messy struggle, in which much mud would have been slung with no assurance of glory at the end.

So that American constitutional curiosity, of a head of state who is also the political leader, a partisan chieftain who must also be the symbol of the nation as a whole, came into play once more. Bill Clinton is almost tailor-made for the political job, but does not impress as head of state. Colin Powell would have been a marvellous symbol of the values and aspirations of the American mix, but a risky choice as party political leader.

The conventional wisdom now assumes that next year's presidential election will be between two crafty and professional politicians, Bill Clinton and Senator Robert Dole. On the day Powell stepped out of the race, Dole picked up the imporshire's governor, Steve Merrill. This should reinforce his lead over his Republican rivals in the first primary state.

All eyes now turn to Florida, where the 3,500 delegates to the state Republican convention are holding a straw poll this week to express the preferences of the party activists. This will be the most important guide to the Republican pecking order until the primary season begins in February.

Not only are prestige and mo- Lubbers, making little attempt to fend US interests. Washington



mentum at stake in Florida, but also a great wave of campaign funding, delayed to see what Powell would do. The bulk will probably, and rather resignedly, go to Dole, whose campaign staff are confident they can get the 40 per cent of the vote required to buttress his status as front-runner. The three-month hiatus, as America waited for Powell to make up his mind, locked up potential funds for Dole's rivals, and robbed their campaigns of much of the publicity as they trailed through

New Hampshire and Iowa. After walking across the state of New Hampshire in his tartan shirt. and making his genial personality known to vast numbers of voters, Lamar Alexander ought to be doing much better than he is. Senator Phil Gramm of Texas should by now have turned his massive war chest into a lock on the conservative vote. Senator Arlen Spector should have ralled the remnants of liberal Republicanism to his banner, but in stead is pondering withdrawal.

The only Republican to have turned Powell's 100 days of quasi-candidacy to his advantage is the one who threatened to fight rather than let Powell's soft centrism infect the party: Pat Buchanan. Last month, this rightwing firebrand and "America First" nationalist was running second to Dole in New Hampshire with 10 per cent. Last week he had 17 per

cent, with Dole down to 27 per cent. Most conservatives loathe the United Nations, but like Senators Dole and Gramm they feel a lingering responsibility for American leadership and American commitments overseas. Buchanan will have none of this, and affronts the party's freemarket and free-trade instincts by demanding protection for American jobs and an end to US membership of the World Trade Organisation.
"When I am elected President of

the United States, there will be no with him to the White House. more Nafta sellout of American

THE former Dutch prime min-

ister, Ruud Lubbers, aban-

Nato secretary-general last week

after the US refused to support

him, setting off a scramble to

The Dutch foreign minister.

Hans van Mierlo, announced

that his government was with-

drawing the candidacy of Mr

find another candidate.

doned the race for the lob of

Julie Wolf in Brusseis

workers. There will be no more Gatt | deals done for the benefit of Wall Street bankers. And there will be no more \$50 billion ball-outs of Third World socialists," Buchanan vowed when he announced his bid.

Molly Ivens, the Texan liberal commentator, put it best when she noted that Buchanan's speeches sound better in the original German". There is a distinct note of American fascism in this militant Catholic, brought up by a father whose heroes were General Franco and Senator Joe McCarthy. His happiest boyhood memories are of joinng an anti-communist church youth lub called "the Pope's Marines".

Even without the Watergate scanlai, there was a dark, authoritarian spirit at the heart of Richard Nixon's White House, telling the most discredited of presidents that it was time for a "purging of the disloyal and the recalcitrant" in the civil service. It was the same voice which urged Nixon to "move to get politi-cal control of the Internal Revenue Service" and use it as a weapon

Nixon would find it "a tragedy to fritter away his present high sup-port in the nation for an ill-advised governmental effort to forcibly integrate races," said Buchanan, the most loyal Nixonite of them all.

S A young editorial writer on a paper in St Louis in 1966, Buchanan learned that Nixon was considering another run at the presidency. With a bad knee keeping him out of the Vietnam draft, and some fuss with his editor over swallowing FBI "guidance" about Martin Luther King being a communist, Buchanan applied to be Nixon's personal aide. Speechwriter, political adviser, bag carrier and travel agent, he spent up to four hours a day with Nixon and went

Buchanan married Nixon's recep-

conceal bruised feelings in The Hague. "The United States has

let it been known that it will not

support Lubbers's candidacy,

he said. "The Netherlands has

put forward its best. If that's not

good enough, then it's over."

The public transatiantic bick-

ering about Lubbers's candidacy

compromise figure, particularly

given Congress's pressure on the Clinton administration to de-

could make it hard to find a

Lubbers forced to abandon Nato race

tionist, Shelley Scarney, a delightful woman who has given him an even emotional keel. But she has not changed his views. Buchanan shruga aside suggestions that his incendiary speech about "cultural war" at the 1992 Republican convention helped lose George Bush the election. Far from it, he insists. He may have lost that battle, but he has won the war for the soul of the Republican party, and he has brought the same fiery rhetoric to his re-

newed presidential campaign. Today in too many of our chools our children are being robbed of their innocence. Their minds are being poisoned against their Judaeo-Christian heritage, against America's heroes and against American history, against the values of faith and family and country," he declaims.

"Today's American culture novies, television, magazines, music — is polluted with lewdness and violence. Old institutions and symbols of a heroic and tragic past . . are all under assault. This cam-

paign to malign America's heroes and defile America's past has as its end to turn America's children against what their parents believe and against what we love. I will use the bully pulpit of the presidency of the United States to defend American traditions and the values of faith, family and country from any and all directions."

Buchanan's vision of Fortress America already appears to offer the strongest challenge to Bob Dole's inheritance of the Republican nomination. And Buchanan has a private theory that his protectionist views will do even better in a general election than in the Republican primaries, winning ethnic white working-class votes that have traditionally gone Democrat. This theory is based in part on

the current political difficulties of a

apparently felt that Europe was

trying to force Lubbers on the

US. American officials hit back

with hints that Lubbers had not

performed well at an "interview'

with the US secretary of state,

The decision left Denmark's

Ellemann-Jensen, as the only de-

clared candidate for the post that

became vacant when the former

Claes, resigned three weeks ago.

Belgian foreign minister, Willy

former foreign minister, Uffe

Warren Christopher.

collapsing again last week at an of 5 per cent a day. Mexico and Canada are the US's partners in the North American Free Trade Agas ment, allowing Buchanan to dela the slogan, "Join Natta and die".

It is too early to predict a Dok Buchanan war for the Republica nomination, which would be to most vicious of all the battles onto right to which the party now sees condemned through the primaris But Republicans have a curiousladition, that when they think they are going to lose anyway, they prelent lose with an extremist who has we their conservative hearts. This is what happened in 1964 when the picked Barry Goldwater, and a their current despondent mod they may just do it again.

Republicans look at the poli which routinely show Clinton bea ing Dole by a clear 10-point marginand privately despair. They feel the ikely to be a one-term presidents his fellow Southern Democra Jimmy Carter. But now they fail themselves stuck with an old ad glumly familiar Washington polic cian, the Republican equivalent & Walter Mondale, who went down predictable defeat against Roul!

OLE, aged 72, is in his fourth decade as a Washington insider, and a famous trimmer whose grip of political pir ciple has long been enfeebled b years of pragmatism. "Senate Straddle", Bush succeed at him is the 1988 primary in New Hamp shire, which was almost as goods jibe as Bush's "voodoo economis in the 1980 primaries against Ro gan. Dole was "the tax collector to the welfare state", Newt Gingith used to sneer in the 1980s. When supply-side theory was the rding orthodoxy in Reagan's White House. Dole used to enjoy telling cruel joke about supply-side econmists. The good news was that a busiond of them ran over a clift the. bad news was that there were for

That was the old Bob Dole. The new Bob Dole boasts to conserve tive audiences how he was one of the handful of true believers who voted against Lyndon Johnson's so cialistic health reforms of the 1960. Had America listened to Dole is 1966, there would have been at Medicare to cut in 1995,

The new Bob Dole says, The Ronald Reagan if that's what you he wants to re-enact the electoral strategy of Richard Nixon. Shorty before his death, Nixon advised Dole to run to the right to win the Republican nomination, and the race back to the centre to win the election.

Dole's readiness to a "stradde" has been reinforced by last week's off-year elections, in which the rest lutionary momentum of the Republic cans' Gingrich wing has been sharply slowed. The Republicans kept the governorship of Miss sippi, and will probably win the governorship of Louisiana in the run-off, but they failed to capture Kentucky.

They also, despite extraordinary efforts, failed to capture either House of the Virginia legislature. The Democrats won back the seats in the New Jersey legislature and for a party which had begun fear it was facing extinction these were heartening signs of recovery

Comment, page 12 Washington Post, page 14

and a Mexico whose currency va

SEVEN long-term HIV sur-vivors in Australia might

A BRITON, John Martin Scripps, aged 35, became the first westerner to be sentenced to hang for murder in Singapore, after a court con-victed him of killing a South African tourist.

NDIA rejected plans to hold elections in the troubled state of Jammu and Kashmir next month, claiming fair polls were not possible in the state where a separatist rebellion has been going on for five years.

but have remained bealthy.

THE AGA KHAN, one of the world's richest men and spiritual leader of the Ismaili Muslims, lost his battle to prevent his former wife selling jewels given to her as part of their divorce settlement. The "Beghum Blue" diamond necklace was sold for \$7 million in Geneva.

NIGERIA Airways plane with 130 people aboard crashed on landing in northern Nigeria. At least 77 people were presumed dead.

NDONESIA'S President Subarto said that 21 East Timorese in the Japanese mbassy in Jakarta would not be stopped from seeking asylum in Portugal.

SRAELI aircraft raided radical Palestinian guerrilla targets south of Beirut. Two guerrillas

A PARIS COURT sentenced Christian Didier, aged 51, to 10 years in prison for killing the former head of France's wartime vichy police force.

RANCESCO Musotto, one of Silvio Berlusconi's senior lieutenants in Sicily, was ... arrested on a charge of Masia aspiracy. The former head o the provincial government of Palermo and a leading member of Mr Berlusconi's rightwing Forza Italia movement, was accused of having helped Italy's most wanted man, Leoluca Bagarella,

WO French first world war veterans died of joy after.... nearing they were to receive the Legion of Honour to mark the 77th anniversary of the end of

Chirac accused of sexist purge

Paul Webster in Paris

G ERMANY'S lower house of parliament demanded that Iran's foreign minister, All Akba RESIDENT Jacques Chirac last week prepared France for severe government severit Velayati, be banned from an Islamic conference in the country because Tehran welcomed severe government spending cuts by reshuffling his cabinet and the assassination of the Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Rabin. cutting back its size.

The sacking of eight women among the 13 dismissed ministers was described as a sexist purge by feminists, irritated by reports that the prime minister, Alain Juppé, toki Mr Chirac that he could no longer work hold a weapon in the war against Aids, according to a report in the US Journal Science Today, They with *pétasses*, a patronising term received infected blood transfuroughly translated as old biddies. sions between 1981 and 1985 There are now only four women in the 32-member government.

The dismissals reflected his ad-

paign. Most innovative changes had been allotted to women such as the sacked health minister, Elisabeth

But the president warned more sacrifices would be needed to maintain a strong franc policy when he met the new 32-member cabinet. "We can only fight against unemployment if we fight vigorously against budget deficits and public debt," he said. He confirmed that his campaign

promise that government spending would be increased to create jobs had been ditched, in favour of the monetarist policies of Edouard Balministration's readiness to turn its I ladur's former Gaullist-led govern-

back on social reforms promised in Mr Juppé, whose six-month-Mr Chirac's May presidential camsince 1958, is to seek a vote of confidence this week.

Internal cabinet quarrelling over an economic U-turn appeared the main reason for the reshuffle undertaken against the background of a potential revolt among rightwing parliamentary majority. Mr Juppe's decision to rely

mainly on male ministers, who kept their key posts, has confirmed his reputation as a politician unable to handle internal opposition. As the three-day parliamentary

debate on welfare reforms began on Monday, government plans to save the social security system from

collapse were challenged by Mr Balladur. The debate took place against the background Tuesday's national protest by trade unions who fear for the future of the 50-year-old welfare system.

Although Mr Balladur's closest adviser, the former budget minister Nicolas Sarkozy, said a powerful Balladur lobby in parliament would not try to bring the government down, they appeared ready to oppose the key measure in the planned reforms --- a special tax to pay off accumulated losses of about £30 billion, including a record £8 bil-

Le Monde, page 17



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LUXEMBOURG · SWITZERLAND

Appeal Court denounces government conspiracy

GOVERNMENT ministers were criticised by the Appeal Court £100 million on research and treatfor "material irregularity" in withholding documents vital to the defence of four men who, as a result, were forced to plead guilty to unlawfully supplying arms to Iraq.

The court quashed the 1992 convictions of the men - Paul Grecian, Bryan Mason, Stuart Black and Colin Phillips — who had been charged with conspiring to export an assembly line for heavy artillery shell fuses to Iraq by using false documents showing the "end user" of the equipment to be Jordan.

Evidence since given to the Scott inquiry into arms sales has shown that the Government knew that Jordan was being used as a conduit for the supply of arms to lraq, but did nothing to stop the trade. But documents that would have revealed the Government's knowledge were suppressed at the 1992 trial by gagging orders known as Public Interest Immunity (PID) certificates.

Besides being a director of a military arms firm, Ordtec, Mr Grecian was actually a Special Branch and MI6 informer and, far from being a conspirator, was conspired against. Before his trial. Whitehall leaned on him, threatening to expose his deallags with the intelligence services in an unfavourable light and warning him of reprisals from the traqis

and terrorist groups.
The Lord Chief Justice, Lord Taylor, said the four had been placed under intense pressure "to go quietly". On being denied the evidence that might have cleared them, they changed their pleas to guilty. They now plan to sue for compensation алd, possibly, malicious prosecution.

The gagging certificates were signed by Peter Lilley (then at the Department of Trade) and Kenneth Baker (tinen Home Secretary), Mr Lilley, who is still a cabinet minister, faced Labour and Liberal Democrat demands that he should resign.

Mr Lilley suffered another set-Conservative party.

of by British and US troops. The committee compared the "scepticism, defensiveness and torpor' of the defence ministry with the "compassion" of the Clinton administra-

S PECULATION that the Chan-cellor may scrap inheritance tax sent tremors through galleries around the country, fearful that a

THE BBC was accused by one of its most senior foreign correspondents of "glamorising war" by ailing to show the real pain and bloodshed of the battlefield. Martin Bell, who has just finished an assignment in Bosnia, said that the cutting out of disturbing scenes in an act of self-censorship had the effect of making war "seem an acceptable way of settling disputes".

Mr Bell is not alone in his concern about the results of the BBC's growing sensitivity to public criticlsm. Melvyn Bragg, a prolific arts broadcaster and writer, also complained that Britain's was already the most regulated television in the In danger of being "nannied back into the prain" by the BBC's readiness to placate politicians.

LECTION planning by Tories was plunged into disarray when ohn Colver resigned from his job as communications director at Conservative Central Office after only six months, pleading his unsuitabil ity for the post which, he said, called or more of a political propagandist.

ability" by savaging his ex-employers in a newspaper article headed Why do Tories always snatch defeat from the jaws of victory?" He said the Conservatives behaved as inough as they were "in office by divine right" and that the Government, instead of making a dramatic comeback after John Major's reelection as leader, had instead de eloped a "siege mentality".



source of art treasures could run dry. The owners of more then 14,000

works are exempted from estate duty on condition that they allow public access to their paintings and antiques. Most choose to do so by placing them in galleries and museums, though some keep their treasures at home and allow people to see them there by arrangement.

Without the incentive of tax relief, important works of art might, in future, remain behind closed doors.

> John Ezard ↑ RECORD 10,000 veterans watched by crowds 12 deep turned out for Sunday's Remem brance parade at the Cenotaph

in London, crowning a weekend

of public participation on a scale

not seen for decades. The crowd support, clearly swelled by the VE and VJ Day commemorations this year. came close to matching two memories from history: the turnouts at the end of the second world war and the inaugural

Gary Younge and Simon Beavis

RITISH GAS, which made a £1.24 billion profit last year, is cancelling its pensioners' RITISH GAS, which made

Christmas party so it can concen-

A British Gas spokeswoman said:

"We are not making a contribution

(to the 'pensioners' Christmas

party). We are in the middle of re-

structuring and are losing 25,000

"In the circumstances we think it

is appropriate to concentrate our re-

sources on our enhanced voluntary

The party was an annual treat for .

Brian Isherwood, aged 63, who

worked for British Gas for 42 years,

has been to every one since he re-

pany the size of British Gas. It was

always great to see old friends again.

The Christmas parties really helped

Those who attended were given a

free drink and a Christmas meal, and

put on masks and party hats. In some

I'm bitterly disappointed," said Brenda Woodward, aged 62, whose

husband used to work for British

Gas. "Still, I'm sure the top brass

won't be going without their Christ-

mas cheer."

"It had a really great atmosphere.

years they also had entertainers.

me feel like part of the family."

tired four years ago. "I think it's a

many people who had retired from

jobs over three to five years.

redundancy scheme." · · ·

British Gas headquarters.

trate its resources on shedding

25,000 staff.

to you too, Cedric

Cenotaph service 75 years ago, when the custom of a national two-minute silence on the anniversary of the first world var armistice was introduced.

Chelsea pensioners join veterans in the march-past at the Cenotaph on Sunday PHOTOGRAPH FRANKIE

Huge crowds revive Remembrance parade

The voluntary revival of this ong-disused custom at 11am on Saturday was honoured sporadically but by hundreds of thousands of people across the country. Tills stopped ringing in shops, 24,000 national lottery outlets paused in their sales and buses pulled into the roadside. In Bosnia, British troops held

The move is the latest in a long

ine of public relations blunders made

who now earns £475,000 a year.

omer service.

the same month last year.

Royal Assent last week, British Gas

is being restructured into four sepa-

rate businesses with its pipeline op-eration, Transco, kept distinct from

From next April, competing com-

anies will be allowed to challenge

British Gas's monopoly in supplying the country's 18 million domestic

gas customers in readiness for full

competition in April 1998.

market.

its supply business.

British Gas over the past year,

The company faced fresh humili-

At the Cenotaph, the Queen led the wreath-laying. Almost her whole family took part or watched from a Whitehall balcony. The exception was the Queen Mother, aged 95. She had to cancel at the last moment but Buckingham Palace saidth a remembrance service on Mount reflected "nothing untoward".

Regiment troops did the same

The Royal British Legion sal

t was pleased with the respons

to its campaign for the silence and delighted with the turnout

during a training exercise.

BR fleet 'sold cheap'

THE Government was last well accused of selling off British Rail's 11,000-strong fleet of true and carriages on the cheap and using the £2.5 billion proceeds is lop a penny off income tax in the ollowing the 75 per cent pay rise of Budget, writes Keith Harper. its chief executive, Cedric Brown, Brism Wilson, Labour's transport

spokesman, said that the sale of the three rolling stock leasing componies was "all about the dogma of the ation when it announced that it was handing back its charter mark posal of assets to pay for tax cuts.

award for high standards of cus-Three consortia - backed by range of investors from Britain Es The move came before charter rope, the United States and Japan acquired the companies for £1.8 15 assessors had completed an audit of standards of service at the privalion. A further sum of nearly 130 tised company. It followed reports million in dividends is to be paid! that the charter mark was in peril the companies before the sale is and could be taken away by the Government at the end of the year completed.

Mr Wilson declared: "We' wo after complaints soared by 98 per have a situation where the Goren cent in September compared with ment is prepared to accept any price. that can be obtained for publicate Mr Brown denied that it was sets without regard to their value

jumping before it was pushed. He said the award was no longer appro-The price of the rolling stock with originally set by the Government S. billion, but it has been maked priate for a company being radically down in preparation for the sale ! ment's plans for a rapid move to full Hambros Bank conducted an into competition in the domestic gas untional auction. Under the Gas Act, which gained

Mr Wilson also promised he Labour, which first put forward it idea of leasing four years ago, while bring the companies under the control of the rail regulator. This work guarantee that the "deeply needed vestment in rolling stock was actually

delivered". Under the Government plans, there is no such requirement. None of the three companies able to announce immediate the such particular to the such plants. to replenish BR's ageing fleet.

Whitehall attacks Irish PM over talks

David Sharrock in Beifast and Michael White

OUNTING tension be-tween London and Dublin over the slackening pace of the Northern Ireland peace process burst into the open on Sunday when British officials angrily pointed to the release of 88 paramilitary prisoners from the Maze prison this werk as proof of their commitment

Stung by a call from the Irish prime minister. John Bruton, for London to accept a "reasonable compromise" to start all-party talks, Whitehall cited the little-noticed announcement of this Friday's release as one of 100 British initiatives to further the 15-month-old peace

lrish ministers and officials were surprised at the British description of Mr Bruton's carefully prepared remarks as "extraordinary". They said the Taoiseach feels the two governments must find a way to break the stalemate which is preventing Sinn Fein from aitting down with Unionist politicians.

Mr Bruton himself stood by every word of the speech, which he tinuing in the absence of political

lack watch . . . RAF technicians in the process of painting a Hawk

Costs force Trident U-turn

yard. Even DML's more limited

role, managing the remainder of the

Such a fundamental U-turn wil

be deeply embarrassing for Mr. Por-

tillo, even though his predecessor Malcolm Rifkind, made the origina

decisions. He could simply presen

the taxpayer with the DML con-

struction bill - rumoured to be

£100 million more than the £236 mil-

lion estimate it submitted in 1993 -

but he is not expected to override

his officials' advice in his recom-

Scottish Chambers of Commerce

has called on the Government to

complete the U-turn by reverting to

its original plan to refit Trident at

The Rosyth dockyard managers,

Babcock Rosyth Defence, are am-

barked on an entirely different strat-

egy; based on surface warship refitting and industrial diversifica-

tion. Their main concern is likely to

be the prospect of competing, i

their offer to buy the Scottish yard

still in MoD hands.

is accepted, with a Devonport rival

mendation to the Cabinet. .

dockyard, looks uncertain.

David Fairhall

THE Ministry of Defence has dis

covered it cannot after all afford

to let a private firm organise the

construction of a nuclear refitting

dock for the navy's Trident sub-

Since this change of mind will

also scupper plans to privatise the dockyard and reopens the argu-

ment about choosing Devonport for

Trident in the first place, it will cause deep political embarrassment.

DML, which runs the Devonport

naval dockyard near Plymouth,

Navy's nuclear missile submarines

from Rosyth by the narrowest of

margins two years ago. Its original bid was £64 million lower than its

cottish rival's - about 1 per cent of

relit programme that will eventu-

illy be worth more than £5 billion.

But DML's final price for taking on

the risks of such a complex project

as proved too much for the MoD.

The Defence Secretary, Michael

fortillo, has been advised to let the

Royal Navy control the construction

project and abandon indefinitely his

marines at Devonport.

he said

88 prisoners, republican and loyal-

ist, their freedom on licence this

made in London last Saturday. "The essence of the speech was that the essence of the speech was that the weekend apparently demonstrate Major insisted: "The problem above time has now been reached where hat the current strains in Anglo-Irish relations are deepening as the two governments have to come into the picture and take decisions President Clinton's visit to Northern together to move things forward." reland on November 30 draws

But Whitehall is both puzzled by At the end of the Commonwealth Mr Bruton's "megaphone" tone and angered by his timing: on Armistice Day - just 24 hours after the Northern Ireland Secretary, Sir to all-party talks, not London. Patrick Mayhew, had used newly restacles to talks with Sinn Fein as vised remission procedures to allow

rious Maze prison, outside Belfast, will bolster Downing Street's contention that it is moving to consolidate the ceasefires and that it is Sinn Fein which is blocking political progress.

Ministers complain that it was

ressure from Sinn Fein on Mr Bruion's government which aborted the Anglo-Irish summit on September 6 when they had intended to unveil the "twin-track" approach both governments favour. In the war of words which is con-

conference in New Zealand, John Major dismissed Mr Bruton's call, insisting Sinn Fein was the obstacle Mr Bruton had dismissed the ob-

"comparatively minor in historical terms" and urged Mr Major to be courageous, generous and deci-Speaking on BBC TV's Breakfast With Frost, Mr Major said: "There

is no purpose whatsoever in launching all-party talks until we have a basis that will make sure there i some chance those talks are likely to succeed." Sinn Fein wants a specific date for

all-party talks to start and wants an nternational commission to consider all weapons, including the British Army's, London and Dublin prefer a softer "target date". But Dublin does not share Whitehall's determination to make the IRA hand

Major insisted: "The problem above all lies with Sinn Fein and Sinn Fein's complete reluctance to tackle the question, even with an international body, of how their arsenal of veapons and explosives are going to be taken out of commission

The Sinn Fein president, Gerry Adams, said: "Sinn Feiu has ad dressed every single issue which the British government has put be-

 A 1,300lb van bomb intercepted close to the border within the Irish Republic sparked a huge security operation at the weekend as police rrested four men and searched for others who they believe were planning an attack in Northern Ireland,

Garda officers said that the bomb could have caused massive damage and injury. Its discovery has shaken he peace process.

Two men - one of them said by security sources to be a senior figure in an organisation called the Irish National Republican Army were arrested. Two more were apprehended later, one late on Sunday night in Dublin. A search was continuing for a fifth man.

Death threat to defendants

OYALIST paramilitaries have threatened to kill six defendants in a murder trial unless they plead guilty. Belfast crown court was told last week, writes David Sharrock.

The threat against the defendants - accused of involvement in the murder of Margaret Wright - was made by the Red Hand Commando in a coded telephone call to BBC Northern Ireland last week.

Ms Wright, an epileptic, was battered and shot by a mob at a loyalist club in south Belfast after being mistaken for a Catholic.

Details of the threat emerged after four of the defendants changed their plea to "guilty under duress". But Lord Justice Nicholson directed that pleas of not guilty be entered. "No judge could accept pleas of guilty induced by fear or menace, he said. Four defence lawyers stood down last week, saying that they were not prepared to continue but without giving further details.

Last September, Billy Elliott, an alleged former RHC member, was shot dead. It was claimed he had been executed for his part in Wright's murder.

Cutting class sizes a 'waste of money'

John Carvel

CHRIS WOODHEAD, chief inthe political arena last week with a report supporting the Government's claim that reductions in class sizes would be a waste of public

He made an exception for children in the first three years of primary school, who needed extra support from teachers while they learned the basic skills. For these children the extra cost of smaller classes could be justified by the

Although this appeared to lend support to Tony Blair's pledge last rainer jet black. MoD research has found that black makes it easier nonth to set a maximum class size of 30 for children under seven, Mr for pilots to see each other's aircraft. Search and rescue helicopters Woodhead said the Labour leader's may now change from their traditional bright yellow PHOTO: JEFF MORGAN costings were wrong. The price would be at least £180 million three times what Mr Blair indicated.

The intervention comes shortly pefore the Government publishes the figures for next year's public ex-penditure, which ministers want to use to counter complaints that education has been underfunded.

teacher unions for compromising the independence of the Office for Standards in Education, which he

The Ofsted findings were based in a re-examination of past inspection reports on 200,000 lessons in 1.767 schools to establish if there was any correlation between class size and the quality of teaching or learning.

None was found except among children in early primary school years: for classes of 16-20 children, 43 per cent of lessons were marked good or better; in classes of more than 35, only 36 per cent of lessons reached this standard.

Ofsted concluded: teaching methods and classroom organisation have a greater impact on learning than class size; the use of classroom assistant has an important influence on the quality of teaching and learning, es-pecially in larger classes;

school heads and governors could use extra resources more effectively by employing more assistants and providing more "non-

Mr Woodhead was attacked by | contact" time for teachers to spend outside the classroom. Cillian Shephard, the Education

and Employment Secretary, "noted with interest . . . that there is no sinple link between class size and the quality of teaching and learning".

Reducing class size across the board was very expensive "and there is no evidence to justify this

Donald MacLeod adds: Headreachers last week called on Sir Ron Dearing, the Government's chief curriculum adviser, to opt for a French-style baccalaureate to allow students to combine A levels with vocational courses.

A broad mix of courses should be compulsory, according to the Na-tional Association of Head Teachers, which criticised the pressure for specialisation from universities. Sir Ron, chairman of the School Curriculum and Assessment Authority, is due to report early next year on post-16 qualifications, and has proposed an "over-arching qualification" as a means of encouraging "parity of esteem" between acade mic and vocational studies.

Beef eating fears lead to public boycott

Edward Pilkington

A LMOST one in four people are eating less beef or are boycotting it for fear of contracting Bovine Spongiform Encephalopathy, or med cow disease, from infected meat, according to an opinion poll.

Out of a representative sample of 1,017 people aged 15 and above, more than half said they were fairly or very concerned about the risks of contracting the disease. Twenty-three per cent said they had stopped eating

beef or were eating less of it.
The findings highlight public
anxiety about beef following a series of cases of Creutzfeldt-Jakob Disease (CJD), the human version of BSE. Last week a.

woman died in Sunderland of the disease.

The first CID deaths of British teenagers were reported last month. Stephen Churchill, aged 18, from Devizes, Wiltshire, died in May and an unidentified girl, aged 16, in August. The perception that mad cow

disease is building up to a 4. renewed crisis will be further heightened by a British tele-. vision documentary alleging that up to 600 cows infected with BSE are being eaten each week.

World in Action discloses that the Government's own scientific advisers assume that two cows with BSE are undetected for every one that is detected and

Keith Meldrum, the Ministry

of Agriculture's chief veterinary surgeon, said that there could be twice the number of "subclini-. cal" cases - where cattle had been infected but were not yet showing full-blown symptoms to diagnosed animals. There are a significant number of cattle that could be going in for slaughter that could be incubating the disease." Scientists have failed to con-

to humans. However, public health fears were sufficient to prompt the Ministry of Agriculture to tighten controls three months ago to prevent cow: dangerous for consumption.

firm that BSE can be transmitted

brains, considered potentially being mixed with usable parts of . carcasses.

back after an extract from his correspondence revealed that he has been filled with despair by Treasury He then confirmed his "unsuitplans to cut his social security department's running costs. Labour cited the extract as a further sign of the lurch to the right within the HE Defence Ministry's failure to take the so-called Gulf War Syndrome more seriously was strongly criticised by the all-party Commons Defence Committee, which demanded an independent health study of the veterans of the conflict. The committee made no judgment on whether the elusive syndrome exists, or whether the 680 British veterans who are pursing claims against the ministry should be compensated in advance of legal proof of the cause of their ailments. But it did demand a study of the "cocktail" of inoculations and drugs given to British and American troops as a protection against chemical and biological warfare. French troops, who did not receive such treatment, have shown no sign of the illnesses complained

Blair shifts on Europe to woo industry In Brief

and Simon Beavis

ONY BLAIR on Monday signalled Labour's move to a more Euro-sceptical stance when he softened his commitment to the social chapter to allay fears that the party will impose costly proposals from Brussels on industry.

Mirroring the Government's own tougher line on Europe. Mr Blair told the Confederation of British Industry conference in Birmingham that Europe-wide social legislation would not be automatically adopted by an incoming Labour government.

The Opposition leader's determination to avoid being outflanked by John Major on Europe was also unissue of a single currency. Mr Blair | at which it was implemented, adding made it clear that he did not share I that Labour's proposed Low Pay

Camelot to

fund inquiry

on gambling

AMELOT reacted on Monday to growing unease over the ad-dictive effects of the National Lot-

tery by offering to fund research

The lottery organiser celebrated

the game's first anniversary by

successful lottery in the world, with

sales set to top £4.5 billion this

But the Rt Rev David Sheppard,

Bishop of Liverpool, urged a thor-

ough review. He said: "I think the

scratchcards are driving a coach

and horse through all the rules of

gambling that regulations have tried

to establish, and I don't think there

He said the age limit for buying tickets should be raised from 16 to

18 because children as young as 1

David Rigg, Camelot's director of

communications, said British play-

Europe. 'They are playing in moder-

But he admitted Gamblers'

Anonymous had reported a 17 per

cent increase in calls since the

lottery began. "I think there is

quite a strong case for research

into this area and we have been

talking to some interested parties

over a matter of months. We would

be prepared to fund some of this

This must be done by an inde

pendent organisation which has the

confidence of experts in this area,

such as Gamblers' Anonymous, so

Virginia Bottomley, the National

Statistics from Camelot contra-

Heritage Secretary, called the lot-

dicted research published last week

which claimed the elderly and those

on lower incomes were spending

most on tickets. Mr Rigg said the 30

million people playing each week

The average weekly spend by

social class is £2.30 for the lowest

Proposals for a midweek draw are:

income group and £2.33 for the

composition of the country.

that it is credible."

ers spent less than people i

ation and within their means."

were playing.

is any doubt they are addictive."

claiming it had become the most

Andrew Culf

that monetary union was an in-

In a warmly received address, Mr Blair was at pains to reassure business leaders that Labour's two most ments - the social chapter and the minimum wage — would only be implemented after full consultation with industry.

"Each piece of legislation will be judged on its merits. I have no intention whatever of agreeing to anything and everything that emerges from the EU or any other body," he said. "Proposals are just that: proposals. And they will be examined with industry on their merits."

He stressed that the key to the minimum wage issue was the level

Sir Robert Stephens, pictured in

THE Court of Appeal was

whether a man whose daughter

could legally be convicted of

urder or manslaughter.

o the court by the Attorney

The man has the right to

was born prematurely and later

died after he stabbed her mother

The unique case was referred

General, Sir Nicholas Lyell, after

there was no case to go to a jury.

two-day appeal bearing, the out-

come of which cannot affect his

The man stabbed his giri-

friend, then 24 weeks pregnant

with his child, in May 1990 dur-

A baby born at 26 weeks bas a

ing a drunken row. Two weeks

later she went into premature

50 per cent chance of survival,

but the girl had been injured

when the knife penetrated the

womb and had to have several

labour and the girl was born.

a High Court judge ruled that

remain anonymous during the

asked to decide on Monday

Clare Dyer

acquittal.

operations.

the German and French assumption | Commission would include business | CBI certainly detected a change in representation to determine a "desirable level" for the wage.

On the single currency, Mr Blair said that Britain had to keep its options open - precisely the point made to the conference by Sir Leon Brittan, the European Commission vice president for external economic affairs, earlier in the day. "It is hard to tell whether it will

proceed on the basis now planned," Mr Blair said, 'The Germans and the French insist that it will. We shall see.' He said that Britain had learned from its experience of the exchange rate mechanism that currency sta-

RED WEST claimed that he and

his wife, Rosemary, had been

involved in the deaths of 20 girls

whose bodies have not been found,

the trial of Mrs West heard on

heard a witness, Janet Leach, admit

having lied in evidence about a six-

figure deal for her story with a na-

Mrs Leach, aged 39, was wheeled

into the witness box by a doctor.

She was the "appropriate adult" who

had sat in on police interviews with

Fred West when he was arrested in

February last year, and she told the

court last week that he had a "pact"

with his wife that he would take all

Mrs Leach collapsed last week

before completing her evidence and

was taken to hospital. The trial was

On Monday she told defence

counsel, Richard Ferguson QC, that

Fred West had told her he knew

that the body of Mary Bastholm.

She died 121 days after birth,

were not developed enough. The man pleaded guilty to wounding his girlfriend and was

jailed for four years. Later he

was charged with the murder of

his daughter. But the trial judge,

Mr Justice Holland, ruled there

was no case to answer and he .

He held that there was evi-

dence on which the jury could

brought on the premature birth.

After reviewing legal pronounce-

decide that the stabbing had

ments and cases dating back centuries, he concluded there

were no cases blading on him.

which remained in the womb

that murder or manslaughter was committed if a child was

born alive, lived independently

of its mother, and then died as a result of intentional injury

caused while it was in the womb. privatisation.

before being born alive.

Legal authorities conflicted but

none covered the case of a foetus

two weeks after the unlawful act

Robert Smith, QC, contended

primarily because her lungs

the blame for the murders.

adjourned for three days.

last year's Barbican production who went missing from a Glouces-of King Lear, has died, aged 64 ter bus stop in 1968, was buried on a

Test case over infant's death

tional newspaper group.

Duncan Campbell

His speech was a carefully crafted appeal to industry to join him in bility could only be achieved it it did not cause economic harm. modernising Britain, underpinned Although Mr Blair's aides denied by a pledge that there would be no there had been a shift in his thinking on Europe, the leadership of the

by other people

of the families involved.

was telling her the truth.

with Fred West.

She could recall the many hours

of conversation they had because

West repeated himself so much, she

said. She encouraged him to tell the

truth about the bodies for the sake

West told her that "another 20"

had been disposed of at a farm, she

later told crown counsel, Brian

Leveson QC, in re-examination.

West told her that he, his wife, and

some other men were involved. She

agreed that she did not know if he

Mrs West is pleading not guilty to

After Mrs Leach had finished her

evidence, Mr Justice Mantell told

the jury that they must be clear that

what Mrs Leach said was not evi-

dence against Mrs West. She had

been called only to give rebuttal evi-

dence after the defence had intro-

Row looms

for utilities

ing customers, writes John Mullin.

ries of shortcomings, including the

supplying of contaminated water

and the failure to meet targets on re-

pairing supply breakdowns and

leaks. He wants to know why im-

provements have yet to be made

after the companies imposed spe-

There may be a political row ahead. The privatised utilities make

cific charges to pay for them.

the murder of 10 young women and

Fred West 'killed 20 others'

his stance, particularly on the issue Sir Bryan Nicholson, the CBI president, said that Mr Blair appeared to be in tune with Govern-Opposition say anything that was es-

political misfortune when he was selected for the safe Tory seat of Kensington and Chelsea.

ORD WILSON, the former Labour prime minster, has

£200 MILLION road tunnel under the Stonehenge site, already rejected by the Depart ment of Transport as too expensive, is back under consideration.

RITAIN has supplied 24 million faulty condons to Zimbabwe as part of an overses programme to fight Aids.

E ACKIE MANN, the bewhisk ered ex-Battle of Britain pilo whose spirited endurance of his years as a hostage in Beirut earned him national recognition and a CBE, has died, aged 81.

hastening the deaths of between five and 25 people a day, the Government heard from its own panel of experts, which is urging tougher measures on pollution

coma at her birthday party after taking an Ecstasy tablet believed

ment, particularly on monetary union where Mr Major had an opt out. "I didn't hear the leader of the

sentially different to that," he said.

S IR Nicholas Scott reversed long run of personal and Mr Blair went to Birmingham knowing that his keynote address to the CBI was potentially his most important chance to win business round to the idea of Labour taking

RNEST GELLNER, the an-thropologist and philosophe

BRITAIN'S 12,000 pharmacy shops have been told to take head lice products containings chemical insecticide off their counters because of a "theoreti cal" risk of them causing cancer

duced tape-recorded interviews THE Government has made The court will hear closing for the 1 million tonnes of muni tions, including the blistering chemical warfare agent phos

Ian Byatt, director-general of Ofwat, is threatening to force the Yorkshire, South West and North West water companies to allow him access to confidential files. He wants to know the reasons for a se-

> THE JAIL population is rising so fast as a result of the Home Secretary's "prison works" policy that the Prison Service says it will run out of suitable cells as early as next

year, and bills have doubled in five years. Directors' salaries have increased by up to 500 per cent since privatisation.

HREE BRITISH soldiers charged with kidnapping and killing a Danish tour guld Louise Jensen, in Cyprus, lost legal battle to have vital prosecu-tion evidence ruled inadmissible. Their lawyers argued they were illegally arrested at a mad-

killings were accidental and that some of them had been carried out

> and one of the country's leading intellectuals, died at the age of 69.

gene gas, dumped in the Irish Sea between 1945 and 1976.

INUTE particles of dust in vehicle exhausts are THE Office of Water Services, the government-appointed regulator of the water industry, said at the weekend it was investigating the pricing policies of three privatised utilities amid claims they are cheat-

OPES were fading for an 18-year-old girl who fell into a

profits of more than £1.6 billion a further editorial budget cuts.

Labour battle over benefits

should not be presented as party

policy because they are not party

The weight of the criticism.

known to reflect the views of more

than one shadow cabinet member,

is evidence that the simmering ten-

Blair have not been resolved.

policy-making machine.

Patrick Wintour

GUARDIAN WEEKLY November 19 1995

FIERCE dispute broke out last week within the Labour leadership over plans by the shadow chancellor, Gordon Brown, to withhold benefits from the young memployed if they refuse to take up places on one of Labour's training. employment or education schemes.

A senior shadow cabinet member alleged that Mr Brown's proposals were not party policy. "Many senior people have been taken totally by surprise by these proposals. We have been taken aback because it runs counter to what we have been saying about the Government's coof 40 per cent of income support for ercive approach. There was no dis- I those who refuse - struck the cor-

cussion over this and the proposals | rect balance between rights and re-

Mr Brown's Treasury team is adamant that Tony Blair's office saw all the relevant papers and that the policy's thrust is clear in the economic policy statement endorsed at last month's party conference in Brighton.

In a move designed to underpir sions among those closest to Tony New Labour's rhetoric about rights and responsibilities, Mr Brown said Mr Brown insisted that his under-26s employment plan had won proper endorsement within Labour's that the unemployed would have their income support cut by 40 per cent if they refused to join one of Labour's options. A single 18-year-He said his mixture of employold receiving £36.80 income support ment, education and training and living at home would stand to schemes - with the threatened loss lose £14.72 of his weekly benefit.

against coercive US workfare-style policies, in which claimants are forced to take up job and training placements or lose benefits. But Mr Brown said that his new deal aunched jointly with the shadow education spokesman, David Blunkett - offered high quality training and work opportunities, while work-

fare offered work for benefit. He insisted the range of job opportunities would be so good that e did not expect anyone to reject Labour's offers. "There will be a huge welcome from young people for the prospect of jobs and education once again being on offer."

Traditionally, Labour has op-posed compulsion in training. Mr Brown insisted his plans were not comparable with government schemes, "This is not a lurch to the Senior party figures have argued I right by the Labour party. This is I of Parliament and join Labour.

osophy of a party supported by a lecent hard-working majority.".

Tory officials warned that they would be accusing Labour o

 Alan Howarth, the Tory MP who defected to Labour last month, has been told by party officials that he cannot fight his present seat of Stratford-upon-Avon at the next election and must find another constituency.

A local Labour party spokesman said that its selection process for a candidate to contest the seat was already "well advanced" by the time Mr Howarth announced his defection on the eve of the Tory party

Mr Howarth, elected with a 22,892 majority at the last election, was the first Tory to cross the floor

Scargill plans new party

Seumas Milne and Lawrence Donegan

ARTHUR SCARGILL, the min-ers' leader, has said a Socialist Labour Party could be set up within six months, ready to contest seats across the country in the next gen-

Last week he claimed widespread labour movement support for his plan. But it was dismissed by the Labour party leadership and criticised by leftwing Labour MPs, who urged activists to fight their corner from within. If the new party is established it will join the mushrooming group of alternative parties from which voters will be able to choose in the next election.

The National Union of Mineworkers president raised the possibility of founding a trade-union-based Socialist Labour Party on May Day 1996, to put forward candidates in every constituency in the country. However, he later said it should not oppose "socialist MPs".

Mr Scargill said a further meeting would be held soon under the auspices of the Unshackle the Unions Campaign — a pressure group for the repeal of anti-union laws - to consider the response.

The miners' president first floated the idea of a leftwing party last month after changes to Labour's constitution, including final rejec-tion of the traditional Clause 4 commitment to common ownership.

The Labour leadership declared itself relaxed about the prospect. "Arthur Scargill is a spent force," a senior source said.

There was little support for the NUM leader from the traditional left of the party. Jeremy Corbyn, MP for Islington North, said any breakaway would not attract the support of any current MPs. "I have a great deal of admiration for Arthur. He is a great working-class leader, but we should argue for socialist policies from within the Labour party."

other senior Labour leftwi said the formation of a new left party was virtually inevitable after the changes forced through by l'ony Blair. "New Labour is itself a new party. Let's hold on to the old Labour party," he said. One senior leftwing union official

opposed to the NUM leader's proposal said: "Blair has to understand that dissatisfaction goes far wider than those putting their heads over the parapet for a new party. This will at least start a debate about what

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GUARDIAN WEEKLY

An outrage that must be punished

N IGERIA must be expelled, not just suspended, from the Commonwealth and subjected to immediate international sanctions following last week's act of murderous barbarism, when the writer Ken Saro-Wiwa and eight other minorityrights activists were summarily executed on the orders of the junta despite billowing protests from all over the world. The Commonwealth will destroy its very nature if it continues to give sanctuary to the amoral thugs responsible for this outrage, provocatively timed to occur just as the Commonwealth leaders' conference was getting under way in Auckland. The Commonwealth should respond in kind. A two-year suspension is not enough.

No one, of course, can be absolutely sure whether stronger action would have prevented the despots masquerading as Nigeria's leaders from flouting world opinion in such a bloody way: but it might at least have prevented General Abacha from believing that the West would merely wring its hands in ritual sorrow while retaining its strong trading links with Nigeria. John Major's Government should hang its head in shame for feebly describing the illegal trial as "flawed", hoping against the odds that Nigeria's generals would succumb to honeyed words from Foreign Office officials. Shell, the giant international corporation with the lion's share of Nigeria's oil — which it is developing with the state-owned oil company—weakly hid its concern behind a harrel of oil. Even Nelson Mandela, who should know better than any other leader the possibilities of international pressure, has been tarnished by the affair. Despite an impassioned plea from Ken Saro-Wiwa's son, Mr Mandela preferred quiet words to sanctions out of a misplaced loyalty for the support which Nigeria. under different rulers, gave to his freedom struggle. Yet in the end, sanctions played a crucial role in breaking up South Africa's apartheid regime.

And that is what should happen now - a multipronged imposition of sanctions while the whiff of moral outrage still ruffles the air; a block on all communications with Nigeria, especially air travel; a trade embargo, particularly on oil which is the lifeblood of the economy (or would have been had the generals not siphoned so much of it away for their own ends), and a freeze on Nigeria's assets invested abroad, especially those of the ruling junta — if they can be found. Above all, there should be an immediate end to all arms exports a Mr Major has indicated. In theory, this shouldn't be necessary, because an EU ban is supposed to have been in operation for a year. But Britain has flouted it so frequently — 30 times in all — that it might as well not be there. The first retributive steps in this direction have now been taken. The International Finance Corp, the private sector lending arm of the World Bank, has stopped its involvement in funding a \$3 billion natural gas project in southeast Nigeria and Shell has postponed its own decision. Let that he the cue for others.

Nigeria, potentially a rich democracy, has been drained of its wealth and has little left now to lose except its dignity. Tragically, nothing can bring back the lives of those so callously executed after a trial in which defence lawyers were harassed, prosecution witnesses bribed or threatened and Mr Saro-Wiwa's ciderly mother and his wife beaten outside the court. The least we can do to ensure that they didn't die in vain is to take prompt action to bring this hateful, dictatorial regime to an end and to restore democracy to a people who have suffered enough.

Spurning the **Oval Office**

COLIN POWELL was right, in the end, to say no. There was always a mismatch between the high expectations which he aroused and his own much lower self-projection. Interviewers found it hard to elucidate either why he wished to stand (if he did) for the US presidency or what he actually stood for. For many the strongest appeal was his African American identity, yet his pronouncements on race issues were disappointingly bland. He would not have been the first American to put himself forward as a presidential candidate without a distinct platform. But he did not give the impres- of MPs' interests is part of the price which our po-

fice. He could not even commit himself fully to the Republican party until he announced his decision not to run. That was carrying amateurism in poli-

Gen Powell said last week that he would not be a candidate for president or for any other elective of-fice in 1996: he did not leap to deny the possibility of the year 2000. He has neither pledged himself to support the Republican choice for 1996 nor ruled out re-endorsing President Clinton. And he remains open, it would appear, to being offered an appointed office under a new administration. We may not have heard everything from him yet, but his reception next time may not be so tolerant.

Gen Powell's lengthy hesitations on his future were remarkably well received in the US (and British) press. No one, friend or foe, quoted former President Johnson's explicit advice on the need to stop sitting in one place for too long. This was partly because of the difficulty of knowing whose friend or foe Gen Powell might become. There were genuine hopes too that a Powell candidature could check the ugly rightwards shift of the Republicans, and that a black president would offer the US a new unifying vision. With so many tarnished figures around, the American public desperately wants an unblemished hero. In real life they don't come so easily and there are questions to be asked about certain aspects of his own career — including the cover-up of the My Lai mas-sacre and some of the shadler dealings of the Reagan-Bush era. Nor did the polls indicate that Gen Powell was regarded as a hero in the black community. His own view - that achieving high position proves how far the US has advanced racially - does not mesh with that from the bottom of the pile. His views on social policies are loosely liberal but unfocused: he is in favour of cutting social welfare though against doing so "harshly". The strongest argument in his favour was that by stand-ing he would lock out a more extreme alternative.

So is it back to fiding Volvos? Gen Powell has been described by a leading Republican friend as an orderly man who does things in the right order, namely, (1) sell a million books, (2) decide whether to run for president, (3) resume his hobby of rebuilding old cars. It was a good story while it lasted, but was the general's journey really

Tory MPs misread the mood again

T WAS supposedly a free vote and several Conservative MPs undoubtedly took advantage of that fact. Yet last week's 322-271 vote for full disclosure of MPs' outside earnings was essentially a defeat for the Conservative party. The Commons debate on the implementation of the Nolan committee report revealed a governing party which is deeply out of touch with public feeling and which failed to handle a crucial issue of civic confidence in the way that should have been expected in a healthy polity. Those 271 votes were lmost entirely Conservative votes. They represented the collective judgment of the governing party. Those votes and the speeches made in support of them were powerful testimony to the psychological disorientation wrought by 16 years of uninterrupted one-party rule. To put it simply, most of the party's MPs continued to put themselves first and everything else a fairly distant second, even when it should have been obvious that this was an expensive self-indulgence. Their over-riding — and in many cases their only — thought was for their own carnings. The problem of Parliament's status, and of the broader reputation of public life and institutions, hardly got a look in.

It is a mark of how disconnected from reality the Conservatives have become that they should be so slow on the uptake. Instead of acknowledging, as a the publication of earnings is a legitimate reform and that Parliament faces a grave test of its own credibility, most Tory MPs persuaded themselves that the moral issue in last week's debate was all to Labour policy but still wanted to about their right to financial privacy. Or it was use the settlers' anger. about the need for politics to remain a career for all the professional talents. Or it was about anything else that came into their beads. Too many Conservative MPs have deluded themselves that they are fighting for an issue of principle which the outside world (and last week's majority) simply does not recognise as such. Meticulous disclosure sion of being likely to define it more sharply in of- littical culture must pay for public confidence.

Israel must become a nation, not a land

Martin Woollacott

the problem was hate. He was one of hundreds of religious coresentatives who met in a rusaiem conference hall last week. Anguishing over what they saw as the accusation that "the murderer came from your side", they fear an attack on their way of life, and on their right to a part in shaping the nation.

Extremism in Israel springs less out of the territorial question than out of the sense that a community and an identity are under threat. The hate, the rabbi felt, could easily be - had already been - focused on them. It is hard to understand what has happened in Israel without looking at the reversal of the fortunes of the religiously-orientated groups inspired by settlements founded in the past 10 years. The settlers were told they were new pioneers whose dedication and ravery were replacing those of the early socialists. That seemed to underline an enhanced status for the Orthodox religious, just when they were achieving prominence in institutions such as the army and when their parties, notably the National Religious Party, were often pivotal a parliamentary politics. Land, set-

dements, social mobility, political success, and religious helief apneared to be in synthesis. But the sense of a breakthrough, of being on the verge of a leading position in mainstream Israeli society, was followed by a cruel disitlusion. When Labour came to power in 1992, the settlers went from being heroes to nuisances overnight, and the larger community felt diminished and threatened as a result. In negotiations with the Palestinians and the Arab states, settlements had always been contentious: but until the Likud fell, the die was not cast. For Labour, which planned to preserve many big settlements, the settlers were obstacles. For the Likud, they were assets, bodies on the street in the contest with Labour. Some settlers, using funds from the US that came directly

tuilons, may have seen themselves as half outside the state and half outside What they felt was also felt to a degree by people of modern Orthodox background in Israel. Protessor Charles Liebman, a political scientist at Bar-llan University, where Rabin's assassin was a student, says the settlers felt "a grave loss of selfesteem . . , their enormous sense that they were the real Israelis was shaken". Hirsh Goodman, editor of the Jerusalem Report, in a prescient commentary three weeks ago, blamed both Rabin and Likud leader Benjamin Netanyahu for the hystersupporters: Rabin refused to empathise or explain while Netanyahu

rather than through established insti-

The appearance of small groups ready to use violence is hardly surprising. Facts about the Eyal group of which Ylgal Amir was a member are sparse, but there is no evidence of widespread conspiracy. Fertilised in part by racist ideology that Rabbi Meir Kahane brought from the US, are worth the risk, but how to be are worth the risk, but how to be they represent the extreme form of | rael without the issue of the land

could offer no practical alternative

the new religious activism is transformation of a tradition shoe recourse in times of adversity w o be to pray and fast to one which action is seen as justified: derlines how much has changed eligion, and in Israel.

The political struggle there is ceased to be about a settlement of Palestinians and Syrians, and e being driven by the desperation groups who feel they will be lose in a new dispensation they seite vant nor can control.

For all the difficulties aheads negotiations, Israeli politics us moves on from geography be murder of Yitzhak Rabin measts the opposition can no longer that its strategies around the quesic of it and when to hand over land: Arabs. The bankruptcy of that a proach is clear. Some Israelis rez that it led directly to Rabin's deat most that the territorial questic can never again be debated, at was recently, on the streets.

The change strands Likud like party combined its radical inhe tance with a flexibility that enabled to govern for 15 years and to and dealing with contradictions at the heart of its ideology. Likud inheritd a commitment to Greater Israel at the principle that there could now be peace with the Arabs until the were completely cowed. But it made peace with Egypt, handing over Sas It acquiesced in the prace treaty with Jordan, giving up by implication's claim to the East Bank. Party leads avoid mentioning Gaza. Likely purity on territory has been breached. The new Likud leads bases his claims not on the sandiya land but on an overdone version the Islamist threat. Without the se tlers, Likud is bereft of a strateg. The economy is booming, party of ferences on social policy are not clied, and Likud's hold on the Orient constituency has been reduced by the defection of David Levy, its me mportant Oriental leader.

SRAELIS have for some int been trying to look forward to politics that is not about the ten tories. Some hope that politics of in time revolve around environ ment, privatisation, open gover ment, constitutional reform, quin of life. Others, like Professor He man, believe that politics will the velop into a cultural struggle between those who want Israel I become like any other state and those who insist on a Jewish idea tity, not identical with, but related to, the views of religious believed. He hopes that Rabin's death with take the edge off the ferocity will which that struggle will be waged

The Labour government, large secular, represents to many regious Israelia a tendency in nation life which will discard the land of in time everything else Jewish. At the conference hall, the concern of the rabbin was palpable "Some of us", says one, "did not be enough to oppose an atmosphere which this killing could happen. Be I feel it's almost like a Chernobyla uation. Religious energy can be to ribly dangerous. There was no we to vent the energies building

and so an explosion comes.

Israel's dilemma is not whete deals with Syria or the Palesinish

The Washington Post

Bosnia Talks on **Brink of Success**

Michael Dobbs in Dayton, Ohio

HE WAR in Bosnia is ending as it began 3½ years ago, with arguments over the most primeval issues of all: territory

Over the past two weeks, the men who were ultimately responsible for unleashing Europe's worst conflict since World War II have had the opportunity to air their differences face to face, rather than on the battlefield. The talks between Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia, Alija Izetbegovic of Bosnia and Franjo Tudiman f Croatia are taking place behind he high-security fences of Wright-Patterson Air Force Base. But conversutions with associates of all three men suggest they are within striking distance of an agreement.

Even the principals do not know how and when the talks will end. There are huge obstacles to be overcome, particularly over the status of Sarajevo, which chief U.S. ne-gotiator Richard C. Holbrooke has lescribed as "the Jerusalem of the Balkans," the capital that all sides crave as their own and the symbol of so much suffering.

Despite these caveats, it seems clear that the endgame has arrived, U.S. and European negotiaturs are becoming increasingly consident that the Dayton talks will produce some kind of agreement. The reasoning behind their confidence is simple: None of the rival factions has a real interest in continning the war. All sides are looking to the United States to impose

A successful conclusion to the Dayton talks would clear the way for the deployment of tens of thousands of NATO troops to the Balkans to enforce a peace agreement. There is a strong possibility that up to 20,000 U.S. combat troops will be spending Christmas in Bosnia.

The consequences of failure would be particularly serious for the Bosnian Serbs, who are widely regarded as the primary instigators of the war. Over the past few months,

against the Serbs. They have been pummeled from the air by NATO bombing raids and from the ground by a combined Croat-Muslim offensive. If the war were to continue, they would probably end up with much less than the 48 percent of

Bosnian territory they control.
On paper, the Muslims have the most obvious reason for continuing the war, if only to regain lost territory. Militarily, however, they are considerably weaker than the Serbs and their nominal Croat allies, They cannot afford to lose the support of the United States.

By all accounts, the chances of a successful outcome to the Dayton talks have been increased by some remarkable personal chemistry. At first, the Wright-Patterson Air Force Base seemed an unlikely setting: delegates complained about being locked up for weeks on end and about the austere living

In fact, the windswept base has turned out to be a good choice. The delegates are all housed in twostorey buildings around a quadran gle and bump into each other as soon as they walk out their from door. The notion of "proximity talks" quickly gave way to face-to face negotiations. On the first day of the talks. N

vember 1, there was an awkward moment as Secretary of State Warren Christopher conxed the three delegation chiefs to shake each others' hands. By the time he returned to preside over a signing ceremony for a Muslim-Croat federation, he was pleased to see intense conversations taking place between people who had barely been on speaking terms just a few days before.

Despite the impromptu nature of such encounters, the U.S. negotiate ing team has devoted enormous a tention to creating a suitable environment for the talks. Ceremonies have been elaborately choreographed to prevent un-



Dayton, Ohio, a Spanish soldier crossed the river in Mostar, which is to be reintegrated under the accord

forced to take a back seat - quite literally — in the negotiations.

The pace is grueling. Holbrooke holds a two-hour session with his negotiating team from 11 p.m. to 1 a.m. every night to plan for the day ahead. Everybody is expected to be back at work by 7 a.m.

In order to encourage the sides to resolve territorial disputes, the Americans have installed what is known as the "map room" a few steps down the corridor from Holbrooke's quarters. A vast map of Bosnia stretches from floor to ceiling, enabling the delegates to locate wanted interruptions. There are the hills, factories and cemeteries three Bosnian Serb representatives over which they and their followers

on the joint Serb delegation headed | have spilled so much blood. The by Milosevic. But they have been I room also contains computer equipment, previously used to give U.S. vilots simulated mock-ups o Bosnia's mountainous terrain.

> In a breakthrough at Erdut or Sunday, which U.S. officials sav boosis the chances of a peace settlement, rebel Serbs signed an agreement with Croatia to return the Eastern Slavonia region, seized by the Serbian-dominated Yugoslav army at the beginning of the war.

The agreement provides for a transitional period of up to two years during which the region will e administered by the internationa community. It also includes guarantees designed to protect the interests of the local Serb minority.

Obscene Act By Nigeria

EDITORIAL

THE WORLD community urged Nigeria not to do it. But the Nigerian military despot, Gen. Sani Abacha, is not one to be fazed by international outcries or humanitarian appeals for clemency. After government-ap-pointed stooges did his bidding and found Nigerian playwright, environmentalist and Nobel Prize candidate Ken Saro-Wiwa and eight other human rights activists guilty of inciting murder - in a secret trial that no one could respect — he had them hanged on Friday last week. It was the most obscene act yet by

a disgusting regime. Others in the world must now be as uncompromising with Gen. Abacha and his ruling clique as they were with the lives of the condemned activists. For two years, these uniformed autocrats perpetuated a long line of Nigerian military strongmen who have pillaged and drained profits from their oil-rich nation's

Gen. Abacha has been in the thick of it all. There hasn't been coup in Nigeria in the past 20 years in which he didn't have a and. Under his rule, greed and corruption have continued unound, democracy has been trifled with, and his nation of 100 million has experienced its worst anguish since the Biafran war ended a quarter-century ago.

Now it is time for other countries to speak back to repressive Nigeria. The Clinton administration has condemned the killings. But international pressure must be racheted up beyond tough words. A regime as poisonous as Gen. Abacha's deserves isoation. The only Nigeria to be granted access to international markets and forums should be one that is moving swiftly toward civilian rule and that shows respect for human rights norms. That disqualifies the murderous Abacha regime on all counts.

Land for Peace - the Vision of Rabin

THE ACHIEVEMENT of Israel's Yitzhak Rabin lay here: In an age of ever-harsher self-serving ethnic politics, he wrenched himself and his country into a quest for feasible accommodation with the people — the Palestinians — with whom Israelis contest for the same national ground.

A full accommodation it could not and cannot be. To believers, the Holocaust established the absolute priority of a national home for its Jewish survivors. Hitler's murder 6 million Jews overwhelmed the otherwise unanswerable complaint that somebody else lived there.

As a young commander, Rabin himself coldly did his share of depleting then mostly Arab Palestine of enough Palestinlans to ensure the new Israel both sovereignty and the requisite reliable Jewish major raelis in thrall — to a more the requisite reliable Jewish major raelis in thrall — to a more the electric fall day in 1977 when it later, he had come to recognize that Rabin's legacy on which to lity. This struggle, including terror humanistic sort. The first focused was announced that Anwar Sadat Zionism's contemporary imperational continuing search for peace.

ism, represented the higher destiny | on elemental demands for Jewish of the day.

Another people caught in the gears of history might have accepted its bad luck, transformed it into myth. Palestinians transformed it into resistance, including terrorism, surprising almost everyone by showing as much determination not to be thrown into the desert as Israelis showed not to be thrown into the sea. This is the primal force that

Rabin, in coming to terms with it, establish his claim on history. Not merely did he change from war to peace. Nor did he simply go from countering Palestinian resistance to confronting the reluctance of his own people to trade known old risks for strange new ones.

At the same time he made the daring and perilous passage from a basic instinctive conception of Zionsurvival and set no limits on what was permitted to serve it.

Rabin expressed the second, stillunfolding conception unforgettably Let me say to you, the Palestinians, we are destined to live together on the same soil in the same land. . . We say to you today in a loud and clear voice: enough of blood and

I called on Rabin one morning when he was his country's ambassador in Washington after the 1967 war. On his desk was a military map full of curved thrusting arrows and colored boxes - the chief of staff's triumphant Sinal campaign. He expressed Israel's then-expansive con-Idence — a confidence to be much undone in the 1973 war - in its own military and technological prowess.

We happened to be at lunch on

was going to Jerusalem. Though still the military man, Rabin had by now graduated to savvy strategist At once he pounced on the idea of making a peace with Egypt in order to allow Israel to isolate Syria. Thence to the chain of Israeli-

Palestinian deaths and insights that led to Rabin's largest and last role of strategial-statesman. His success was symbolized by the famous Yasser Arafat in 1993. Rabin made evident his anguish at accepting the equal. The supposedly more volatile Arafat kept to himself whatever feelings he may have had about shaking hands with one of his people's leading disinheritors.

Like Arniat, Rabin had come long way. As a young general he had driven thousands of Arab civilians out of central Israel in service to the imperative - survival - of Zionism in 1948. As a mature political leader nearly half a century

tives - democracy, regional and world integration - required a historic compromise with the Palestinan people. To grasp that vision of land for peace and to undertake to make it prevail in the Israeli political arena — this was his work.

Rabin is not to be romanticized. Critics can point to the checks he did not put on the violent settler movement, and to the West Bank and Greater Jerusalem settlements he did not keep from expanding. In these two areas Rabin's program. were in tension with his reach for accord with the Palestinians.

Nor was Rabin ever one to promote a country-wide, block-by-block type of idealized ethnic coexistence. Rather, he was heading toward a state of affairs that would let Israelis and Palestinians live "side by side in dignity." Others called it separation t would not be the promised land. But in a world of Bosnias, it is vastly encouraging that others have Rablin's legacy on which to base a

Charges of corruption

savs Wilf Nussey

election of local government offi-

cials in most areas, much tangible

improvement is evident in the coun-

try. Everyday race relations are

more relaxed - a great releasing of

tension after the April 1994 national

election. A tolerance long sup-

pressed by apartheid is sidelining

racial extremists, while bright new

talent is emerging in business,

sports, media and the arts. There

are still dangerously volatile situa-

tions like the aggressive insularity

of the Zulu-based Inkatha Freedom

Party, but in general South Africa's

peoples are getting along pretty

There is much superficial change

too, as in Johannesburg's central

business district - once white

man's country with his hotels.

shops and theaters, financial head-

quarters, pubs and clubs. Blacks

worked and shopped there but had

to go home to segregated town-

ships. Today's downtown is almost

as black as Lagos or Nairobi, a

seething, noisy, dirty, colorful and

dangerous ferment of people and

action. Street hawkers sell anything

from clothes to drugs to freshly

roasted meat. Traffic is hectic. Sen-

keep a firm grip on it.

After Apartheid,

Hope and Decay

GUARDIAN WEBU

One Battle Powell Chose Not To Fight

Bob Woodward

N THE afternoon of June 3, 1994, William J. Bennett, the former secretary of education, author and conservative guru, visited retired Gen. Colin L. Powell at the general's new home in McLean.

It was still more than two vears away, but the 1996 presidential race was on Bennett's mind. 'The country will be looking for a man of a certain character," he told Powell, "We're always playing out some version of George Washington, the indispensable man."

"And you're him, you know. It there's a modern Washington, you're him. You stand up at the Republican convention and say, 'I'm running for president because want to save the American people.' That means you just bring everybody together. Standing ovation.'

But despite the ensuing polls and cheerleading, the entreaties and the promises of support. Powell decided that this was not the 1780s, or even the 1950s, when another general, Dwight D. Eisenhower, stepped in to save America. In the end, Powell could not see himself as that "indispensable man."

He arrived at that conclusion through the same step-by-step questioning and obsessive attention to detail that have characterized his decision-making throughout his life. Define the nation's problems. Look for solutions. Decide if he was uniquely qualified to provide them.

Powell never came up with fully satisfactory answers to any of those questions, he said recently to associates. Those Republicans and others who urged him to run argued that he would be a healer for the

If there was a clear major foreign policy question or domestic crisis that he thought he had a solution for, Powell told one friend, he would feel an obligation to run.

But he was not able to define fully what needed healing, and felt he was miles away from having a clear remedy, particularly to the narrow legislative questions of the day.

Powell was offended that many Republicans reduced their arguments to, "We'll lose without you." He felt he was not being invited to due for itself. "People were popping | morning."

up out of nowhere," said another close associate, "and they were representing themselves only and their interests. Very few people were addressing his [Powell's] interests. Powell's interest in political office

was always focused on broad themes of community, tolerance and personal responsibility rather than on the hard policy questions. "Spe-Medicare never grabbed him," said one of his best friends. In August, just a month before Powell's book. My American Journey, was re-leased, he told friends that he had read the galleys of neoconservative author Ben Wattenberg's book, Values Matter Most, and was quite taken with the theme.

Reporters at Powell's news conference questioned whether his de cision was influenced by the danger associated with a presidential campaign, the threat of personal attack in nolitical life made only too real again with the assassination of Israeli Prime Minister Yitzak Rabin. Powell's wife, Alma, acknowledge he concern, but both denied it was deciding factor.

Still, it was no secret that Alma Powell and many of his closest friends were opposed to his candidacy throughout the delibera-

But even as he thought through the issues, and the dangers, Powell never got a handle on the political fundamentals of a presidential cam-

Last April, when he heard a reporter suggest on television that Powell lacked four things — the passion to run, a clear political persona, a game plan, and a political party — he called the reporter at nome that night to agree. More than six months later - even though he now has a party, the Republicans ne felt he had made only modest progress on the other three.

Eventually, he came to realize that he could not find the internal drive, the fire in the belly for the race, and that its absence provided an answer in itself. "You know it when you see it," one friend told him bluntly, "and I don't see it."

However, he may find comfort is the 13 "Colin Powell's Rules" listed at the back of My American Jourthe GOP for any purpose other than ney. Rule No. 1: "It's ain't as bad as to dig the party out of the hole it had | you think. It will look better in the



Non-starter . . . Colin Powell, with his wife Alma, announcing he will not run

Too Bad He Isn't a Candidate

EDITORIAL

RESUMABLY both President Clinton and Senate Majority Leader Robert Dole have been feeling much better since former Gen Colin Powell last week made official his decision not to be a candidate for the presidency.

We suppose the two party front-runners could even be forgiven a little giddiness, as could ome of the others seeking the office, such as Sen. Phil Gramm and Lamar Alexander.

Powell's prospective entry into the race had threatened to upend all of their ambitions. But when the last sigh of relief has been heaved by all of the aforementioned men, they would do well to entertain a much less reessuring thought. They would do vell to contemplate what it was about Powell - and no less important, what it is about themselves — that made the general's notential candidacy so magnetic and inspiring and party-transcending to so many Americans

If they are honest with themselves, they will not buy the cheap, easy answer about how the unknown and unattainable candidate is always more attractive than the candidate who is declared, and how all that would have changed the minute Powell got into the race, etc. etc.

They will acknowledge, at least to themselves, that the leaderly qualities of dignity, clarity and straightforwardness that Powell projects, not to mention his rare ability to laugh at himself and his total inability to put on airs or engage in degrading gimmicks and love-me stunts, are qualities that people are desperate for in our political life. Especially are

they desperate for them in the men who are laying claim to the office of president. Powell may or may not be all of the wondrous things his supporters say he is, but there are a few truths of which you can be certain. He does not indulge

(and never has) the maddeningly self-referential, it's-all-about-me temptation that so often disfigures the president's prose. Unlike Dole, Powell is not given to reflexively converting so many of the issues that come be-

fore him - instantaneously and without missing a beat — into mean, small-bore assault material against whomever he is taking on that day. You cannot imagine Powell, had he got into the race, spending an entire campaign as Gramm has deciding which peoequally cannot imagine his having a resume transplant as for mer insider, now self-described outsider Alexander has, or trick ing himself out in some attire like Alexander's famous red-plaid

lumberjack's shirt by way of ex-

plaining to the American voter

why he should be president. Not even close. Powell last week said sensible things about the Republican Party, about the political opportunities of Africa Americans, about the point where the trimming of government (of which he approves) he comes something different and destructive, especially in regard

to poor children.

He was easy and unflustered in discussing Alma Powell's experience with depression. Dole and earlier said that Powell would be in trouble once he started having to take the tout nitty-gritty questions about things like ethanol. As the press conference wore to its end last week, we found ourselves wish ing someone would ask an ethanol question, since by then we had decided he could probably put that one away too.

Too laid he isn't a candidate; but Powell, if the others would take a good look at the tape of his presentation, could yet have a positive impact on the '96

ing. Like many South Africans, I fear our leaders are repeating mistakes made in the rest of Africa rushing along the same track, only with more bells and whistles.

Unity is neither national nor unified; it is an uneasy five-year partnership bonded by mutual suspicion. The African National Congress (ANC) has little experience in democracy and none in running a country. The

Freedom Party is in the cabinet only to appease Zulu ambition.

in high places and rising Real power is in the hands of the ANC, as the party is fast discovercrime have dampened ing. But in using it the ANC reveals the euphoria that greeted serious administrative inexperience. Many at the top are intelligent and last year's election of an capable but lower down competence is scarce. Trying to get decisions is ANC-led administration, often an exercise in frustration. The handling of crises has been ham-handed and inconsistent. Many de-S SOUTH AFRICA comcisions are made arbitrarily. A pletes its 18-monus units the to majority rule with the pletes its 18-month transition

Senior officials frequently arrive late for appointments or never. A provincial premier angered influential businessmen by missing a luncheon he had promised to address. A cabinet minister sent his secretary to read his speech to a meeting. The bureaucracy has swolle while its quality has declined. In addition to the numerous carry-overs from the old administration, a flock

of new civil servants has been hired to run the national and nine provincial governments - each with all the paraphernalia of parliament. cabinet, departments, budgets, Many have fat salaries, houses and expensive cars. One province hired ANC loyalists as drivers at nearly five times the salary of secretaries. Ironically, they complain that they have to spend more time taking wives shopping and kids to school

than driving their bosses. The gravy train is long and crowded. Almost every week produces fresh revelations of self-enrichment at taxpayers' cost. The previous regime was also corrupt and wasteful but less blatant about it. A consultant hired by one province to reduce waste. Eugene Nyati, paid himself 1.2 million rand (about \$350,000) for sible people carry little cash and

Many businesses have moved headquarters to the safer northern suburbs. Here and there whites congregate, as in the security-wrapped Carlton Centre and the stock exchange, but on the streets they are just one small ingredient in a mostly African mix. "When I walk down Commissioner Street, it's so rare to see another white face, I wave," says

The urban flowering of blacks throughout the country should have happened long ago. The greatest tragedy of apartheid was its gigantic waste of time and money. Had all that been used instead to unite and advance South Africa's peoples, how mighty a country we would be

The new South Africa is stimulating - letting in fresh light and air from outside, offering exciting opportunities, reveling in unfamiliar

But as the euphoria fades, rea-The Government of National

galactic cornucopia. National Party for 40 years treated democracy with contempt and demonstrated how not to run a country. The jingoistic Inkatha invertue long-awaked goods has obtained provided in the landslide if claimed in the landslide it claimed. In an election results burg's famed B tal told patients linen because it its own stocks.



The urban flowering of blacks throughout South Africa hides deep conomic and social disillusionment

State schools were opened this

Little has been done to restore

abysimally low. The result: unwieldy

classes, inadequate teaching and a

The ANC passion for the Recon-

struction and Development Pro-

gram, coupled with black demands.

worries the business barons, al-

though they recognize that some-

thing must be done to meet public

needs. The fear is that the ANC will

follow the Africa pattern - draining

national coffers, misusing foreign

aid, squeezing contributions from

business, nationalizing industries.

taking over farms, hiking taxes and

The 5 million whites among the

40 million population would be the

first to feel the impact of such mea-

sures. If squeezed, many will emi-

grate; tens of thousands have

already gone. The majority will stay

because they have no option, but

leaders of the 3 million Afrikaners

Already worried their land might

be expropriated for redistribution.

they are now angered by such steps

as the prosecution of 11 senior mili-

tary officers for murders committed n 1987, in spite of a general

Foreigners are noticeably less

eager to invest here than they were

a year ago. The fastest booming in-

lustry, they observe, is crime. It in-

fests the nation; corruption in

government, astronomic business

jackings, a burgeoning illegal drug

trade, a booming car theft racket,

wholesale murder, South Africa's

murder rate is eight times higher

per capita than America's: In the

first eight months of last year 15,000

The country is also saturated

with illegal guns — 3 million by one

estimate though the reality is prob-

47 assault rifle, Africa's symbol of

Crime prevention is virtually

were reported.

rauds, runaway bad debts, wide-

have warned they can take only so

milking pension, insurance and say

decline in anality.

ion as complex and unprecedented is this, it is hard to spot trends. One, year to all races, but there are not however, is that many blacks must have voted for opponents of the ANC or the ANC majority would the many schools torched or vandalhave reflected the black-white popuized in protests. Standards of teachation balance of 8 to 1. ing, textbooks and equipment in formerly black schools are still As the ANC has already found,

there are far too few rewards to go around, and disillusionment is setting in. The economy is plagued by strikes for more pay. Most recently. thousands of nurses went on strike, abandoning their patients. In another ncident, hundreds of unemployed demanded the repatriation of foreigners working here and the hiring of locals only, "We voted for jobs!" they cried. "Away with the BMWs!" - a reference to the rash of expensive official cars.

Realizing disillusionment could backfire on them, the ANC is trying to spread largess through an ambiment Program" that aims to build a million new homes, electrify 2.5 million others, create millions of jobs in the process and provide free education, medical care and other social services. One newspaper remarked that there was not one house or job to show for it. Since then work has begun on a

paltry few thousand houses, but the whole initiative has become so tangled in red tape a new structure has been created to untangle it - creating more red tape. A scheme to generate 11,000 jobs was swamped by more than 2 million applicants. The government has at last ad-

mitted it cannot finance everything. Township dwellers refused to pay for electricity, water and sewage for so many years in protest against apartheid it became a habit. Now the government has told them; pay

Standards of government services are sinking. State health care, never fully adequate, is near collapse in parts of the country. Hospi-tals and clinics are grossly overcrowded and understaffed. In the Rastern Cane province, health services are in chaos after wholesale theft of drugs and other stocks: water, light and sewage systems function erratically if at all; hygiene has declined perilously. Johannes-burg's famed Baragwananth Hospital told patients to bring their own linen because their had so depleted

of apartheid, the South African Police Service is now expected to de feat crime while still being pilloried for its past sins. A recent report from the Police Centre for Analysis and Interpretation put the backlog of unsolved crime from 1993 at 200,000 cases. Another recent study says crime is up by 30 percent while prosecutions

industry is booming nearly as fast as crime itself. Once the enforcers

have fallen by 7 percent. Most victims are not white but black. In the townships and squatter camps, proper policing is almost impossible and people are at the mercy of criminals. Blacks in some regions are also afflicted by rainpant political mayhem. In little more than a week in KwaZulu/Natal province, more than 40 huts were

urned and dozens of people killed. The greatest damage in South Africa in the past half century has been to basic morality. Apartheid was not exclusively responsible; the deeply ingrained societal codes once so characteristic of African peoples had begun crumbling generations earlier under the pressures of the living styles, cash economy, technology, urbanization and often conflicting moralities introduced by

Apartheid dramatically accelerated the crosion by arousing black anger to the point where whites and anything to do with them became a ustified targets in black eyes. The contempt for law and order left by the long years of theft, killing and destruction menaces the whole of South African society.

Corruption has spread like cancer. It hits the headlines when highprofile figures are accused; the notorious Winnie Mandela and the once internationally respected Rev. Alan Boesak of misusing donations: ANC youth idol Peter Mokaba of misusing National Tourism Forum funds; politician Rockey Malebane-Metsing of signing away 12 million rand of taxpayers' money.

President Mandela himself has

observed that there has been "massive corruption in which millions, it not billions, has been embezzled. At his behest the ANC set up a disciplinary committee to investigate

There can be no security in South Africa, no peace, no faith in government, no investor confidence and no real reconstruction and development until the crime wave is stopped. It is the essential first step.

Still, there is much on the credit side, most notably the smooth way ordinary people are settling into everyday relationships. Flashpoints of friction remain, but what is forgotten, especially in the emotional ism generated by apartheid, is that white and black South Africans have been familiar for many generations, creating an often uneasy yet workable interdependence with no parallel except perhaps in Brazil.

Not even at its worst could anartheid destroy this mutuality. The chances remain reasonably good for tranquil and amicable race spread armed robbery, freight hi- relations. Black and white must make concessions.

Whites must accept that the old South Africa has gone forever; Africa has stamped its personality indelibly on the country. Blacks must accept that whites are irremovably part of the scene. Then we could have a great

country.

ably twice that. Favorite is the AK- Will Nussey, a freelance writer, was a foreign correspondent and editor with the Argus Group's Africa News Service for many years and editor of nonexistent, and the security guard | the Pretoria News.

Dole Campaign Lacks Clear Agenda

OLIN L. POWELL'S decision onot to seek the presidency in | could be a problem." 1996 provided Senate Majority Leader Robert J. Dole, R-Kan., with a straighter path to the Republican "He still doesn't have a clear mespectation past than he wants to be." a straighter path to the Republican nomination, but Powell's prospec- sage that people know where he

Dole's problems appear directly related to negative reaction to the Republican congressional agenda, and to an improved political performance by Clinton. "The president is

long run, but in the short run it he starts out talking about being But Dole's Republican opponents

issues. He's not associated with an

"Making tough decisions on Capitol | being caught in the past," said Peter Hill will pay huge dividends in the Hart, a Democratic polister. "When one of the 12 people who voted against Medicare, he comes out

Black also said Dole may be suftive candidacy also revealed Dole's | wants to take the country," said | fering in two ways from the reacpotential weaknesses as a challenger to President Clinton in the general election.

wants to take the country, said tions to the Republican legislative black, a top adviser to tions to the Republican legislative blocks agenda. Opponents of the agenda of Texas. "In the Republican Party, bold it against Dole, while those in the country, said tions to the Republican legislative blocks agenda. he's well known and popular, but who support it give House Speaker they don't know where he stands on Newt Gingrich, R-Gs., more credit for it than they do Dole.

By almost any measure, Dole just Democrats took an even harsher | concluded one of the most successful doing better, so it means those who view. "When you're 70 years old, if weeks of his presidential campaign.

up two crucial endorsements: New to 36 percent and his negatives had Hampshire Gov. Steve Merrill and risen to 28 percent. Pennsylvania Gov. Tom Ridge. "I think it was a huge week," Lacy said. But last week ended with several

metaphorical wagon. And you

ple to throw out of some

percent to 43 percent. In August, that same poll showed the two in a statistical dead heat, with Dole at 47 percent and Clinton at 46 percent. At the same time, the poll found that as many voters view Dole negatively as positively.

Other polls show Dole with a somewhat more positive image, but the trend line has been moving down. In March, the NBC News-Wall Street Journal Poll found that 51 percent of those surveyed

risen to 28 percent. The other troubling poll came is

New Hampshire, where Dole's ke over his rivals fell to just 10 percent Gallup Poll for USA Today and CNN Group survey for the Manchest showed Dole lesing to Clinton to 197 cent, with Patrick J. Buchanan (who has been endorsed by the Union Leader) second at 17 percent, pol 31 percent undecided. Running behind Dole Buchanan were businessman

colm S. "Steve" Forbes Jr. with percent, former Tennessee am nor Lamar Alexander and Se Richard G. Lugar of Indiana at 6 per cent, Gramm and comme Alan Keyes at 3 percent. Sen. Alan Specter of Pennsylvania Ro-Robert Dornan of California



pay most of it back.

The ordinary people watch this lavish spree with growing cynicism while their own pockets remain pushed impossibly high by the ANC before last year's election - are coming home to roost. We gave you the power, they say, now give us the jobs, houses, education, medical care - all free of course - as if the ANC victory had opened up some

The ANC's promise in recent weeks that the local authorities elected earlier this month would deliver the long-awaited goods has ob-

Eurosceptics' promotion of the Commonwealth as the source of Britain's economic salvation is

flawed, says Will Hutton

HE British Commonwealth is becoming fashionable again. It boasts five out of the 10 fastest-growing economies in the world, claim its new proponents. Commonwealth countries in the Asia-Pacific Rim provide a unique bridgehead into the world's most rapidly growing region. For Eurosceptics, the Commonwealth is an asset which Britain has for too long

It is not clear how this new importance is going to take shape - since the threat of expulsion did not stop Nigeria hanging Ken Saro-Wiwa any more than the prospect of censure at last week's Commonwealth meeting inhibited John Major's support for French nuclear testing. But that does not prevent it from being a useful artillery piece in the increasingly bitter exchanges over Britain's interests and future.

The gradual transformation in the Commonwealth's image, from a tiresome responsibility in which Britain exchanged aid for immigrants and slow-growing markets, has matched the rise in Conservative Euroscepticism. Tony Baldry at the Foreign Office, David Howell as chairman of the Commons foreign affairs committee and Lord Young as president of the Institute of Directors, have all recently spoken about the Commonwealth in glowing terms. Why tie ourselves to Europe when old imperial glories are waiting to be revisited?

But while it is true that the Commonwealth offers opportunities, it falls a long way short of being a genuine alternative to Britain's growing economic and political commitment to Europe, Eurosceptic zeal has got in the way of hard thinking.

None the less there is a real change afoot, and the doubts about the Commonwealth's worth have begun to be dispelled. It trapped British exporters into low-growth, low-tech markets, ran the old argument, and locked the British economy into deflation as the Treasury and Bank of England fought to maintain the convertibility of ster-ling area assets, held by the Com-

monwealth, into hard currencies. Escaping from this nexus was an argument used by Edward Heath and then Harold Wilson to support

Market. Britain needed to redirect its exports to fast-growing Euro-pean markets and confront its industrial competitors head to head; competition and access to continental-sized markets would give industry just the boost it needed. The mmonwealth would be allowed to wither on the vine,

Last week the Royal Institute of International Affairs released a paper — Economic Opportunities for Britain and the Commonwealth - that is the best effort yet at rendering coherent the newly developing pro-Commonwealth case. In a global economy Britain has to think globally, argues its author, Kather-

The relationship between Britain and Australia is an exemplar of why the Commonwealth still matters. Australian Investment in Britain is eight times higher than it should be, given the size of the British economy, while by the same calculus British investment in Australia is seven times higher. For Australian companies, Britain provides a jumping-off point for the European single market, while a growing number of UK companies are using Australia as the headquarters of their Asia-Pacific operations.

The scale of this interpenetration mutually demonstrates, Ms West shared business culture at each end of the world which allows them access to great regional markets.

So far so good, but Ms West wants to go fur ther. Europe is such a low-growth zone that Britain should reorientate its diplomatic and trade efforts to burgeoning Commonwealth markets. Here there is a familiar litany. By 2010 the Asia Pacific economy, including Japan, will surnass the combined economic weight of North America and Europe. Malaysia and Australia were strong markets for British exports in 1994, while in 1993, exports to Europe rose by only 5 per cent. Behind the trade flows there is a build-up of British direct investment, too.

The message is clear: here, and not in Europe, lies Britain's future. But Ms West is partisan, as are Conservative Eurosceptics. It is true that 1993 was a poor year for exports to the EU. After 20 years in which the Union steadily grew as the destination of British visible exports, 1993 saw a sharp reverse, with the proportion falling from 60 per cent of the total to under 55 per cent. Europe was in recession. But in 1994, which Ms West neglects to

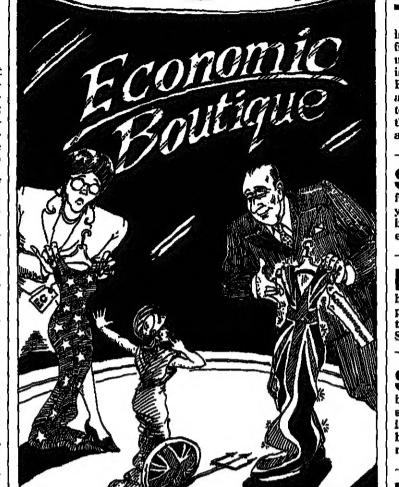
mention, Britain's visible exports to Europe jumped by 14 per cent as

tries that rank in the world's fastest-

The inclusion of invisible earnings lowers the proportion of overall export earnings to below 50 per cent. But that is partly because Britain's overseas Commonwealth investments, having accumulated over 200-300 years, are so mature that the flow of dividends and profits from any pound of direct investment in the Commonwealth is significantly higher than from any pound of EU investment, so reorienting the figures.

But that has not deterred UN business, uniquely focused on making high short-term returns, from continuing to build up its investment in the EU. Business plainly believes the returns it wants lie in Europe, where the rise in direct investment is on course to match the proportion of British exports.

The investment figures for Hong Kong, Singapore and Malaysia are enhanced by the boom in the early 1990s, and the growth now looks much more modest. The five Commonwealth coun-



Botswana, Belize, Hong Kong and Singapore, These do not offer a serious alternative to Europe, even as examples of deeper trends, and their heterogeneity underlines the differences within the Commonwealth rather than mystical shared values. Australia is the exception, not the rule. How should Britain act, even if it

accepts the Commonwealth case: Ms West proposes more funding for Commonwealth initiatives and the establishment of a Commonwealth Global Communications Network to enable better inter-country network ing. Fine, These are deserved in their own right and worth supporting, but their very modesty demonstrates the difficulty of making the Commonwealth a viable trading and political unit.

After all, what does Nigeria fear most: Commonwealth or EU trade sanctions? Britain can and should keep its Commonwealth networks alive and vigorous; but its interests and destiny remain firmly European. There is no escape to the

nting on its own choses ground, where it can win the battle of public opinion. The opinion polls suggest that while Republicans have broad support in their goal of balancing the budget, Clinton has even greater public backing for his staunch defence of the Medicare system.

The weakness in the Republican position is that a bickering Congress has passed only three of the 13 spending bills needed to fund the government this : . . fiscal year, which is already six. weeks old.

ment to revitalise Britain's falter ing economic recovery. The Bank's latest Inflation Report adopts a wait-and-see approach to interest rates on the grounds that prospects for the economy

HE Bank of England set its

face against a cut in borrow.

ing costs, despite growing calls from industry for the Govern-

In Brief

SINGAPORE Airlines is to but 77 new 777-model aircraft from Boeing over the next nine years at a total cost of up to \$13 billion. Rolls-Royce is to supply engines for 61 of the planes.

B OOMING sales of cigarettes to developing countries have helped BAT Industries to record pre-tax profits of £1.8 billion in the nine months to the end of September.

SONY Corp announced an agreement with Intel to begin joint development of personal computers. Sony plans to introduce its first model of home-use PC in the US market

HE rights to more than 250 Beatles songs have been sold by pop star Michael Jackson to Sony for £60 million

PROFFES of Rupert Murdoch's BSkyB more than loubled to £50.8 million in the quarter ending September after 214,000 new UK subscribers boosted the number of paving viewers to 4.38 million.

K BOOK sales have soared by almost 50 per cent in the four weeks since the collapse of the Net Book Agreement - the price accord among publishers opened the way for widespread liscounts. But experts calculate the money tost by retailers.

Sterling rates Sterling rates November 6 November 13

BRITISH AIRWAYS was ordered to pay £3.5 million to 61 French passengers who were held as "human shields" in lraq, after their flight landed in Kuwait moments after Saddam Hussein invaded in 1990.

FOREIGN EXCHANGES

Australia	2.0935-2.0978	2.1033-2.10
Austria	15.70-15.73	16,49-15.62
Belgium	45,85-45.96	45.28-46.36
Canada .	2.1317-2.1347	2,0990-2.10
Danmark	8.84-8.68	8.62-8.54
France	7,73-7,76	7.59-7.61
Garmany	2.2321-2.2352	2.2028-2.20
Hong Kong	12.20-12.21	12.01-12.0
Ireland	0.9762-0.9787	0.0710-0.97
ltaly .	2,518-2,520	2,479-2,48
Jepen '	163,30-163,57	157.77-168.0
Netherlanda	2.5001-2.5034	2.4693-2.47
New Zeeland	2.4078-2.4111	2.9928-2.39
Norwey !	88.9-88.9	9.71-9.72
Portugel ·	234,64-235.27	231.77-282
Spain.	192.44-192.73	190.19-190.
Sweden	10.53-10.58	10.35-10.9
Switzerland	1.7980-1,8008	1,7766-1,776
USA .	1.5786-1.6796	1.5544-1.55
	1.2174-1.2191	1.2075-1.20

GUARDIAN WEEKLY

Le Monde

Bielarus turns back to face Russia again

Jean-Baptiste Naudet in Minsk

Y HUNCH is that we're not going to be able to avoid a lictatorship here," says a glum Pavel Sheremet, the young editor of Bielorossia Delovaya Gazeta, Bielarus's main business newspaper.

A year ago the country's four independent papers were told they could no longer go on being printed in the Bielarussian capital, Minsk. Last month they were forced to find rotary presses abroad. On top of that, the state organisation charge of distribution, which has a monopoly, refuses to handle opposition papers. The state media have long since been brought to heel, and the only independent TV chan-

nel has been closed down. Bielarus's populist and highly authoritarian president, Alexander Lukashenko, has just decided to introduce "a political day" in the calendar of companies, so as to "inform the population of the actual situstion". He is also forming a presidential guard and has just appointed loyalists to run "law-and-order organs" (the interior and defence ministries, the secret services and the security council).

After succeeding in discrediting the new parliament elected in May, the Bielarussian leader recently threatened to introduce a direcpresidential system unless a sufficient number of voters went to the polls by the end of November to complete the new assembly.

Meanwhile, the president has re fused to recognise the authority of the former Supreme Soviet, despite a ruling by the constitutional court. Bielarus seems set for a bumpy ride this winter, particularly as experts are predicting a grim future for the Bielarussian rouble, which has remained stable for the past yea despite persistent inflation.

"in a month or two the central bank, which is spending almost £100 million a month on its interventions, will run out of reserves, and the rouble will go through the floor," warns Stanislav Bogdankevich, a widely respected economics expert, who resigned a month ago as head of the National Bank.
"The president was using the institution as though it were his private bank, and none of the reform programmes had been applied," he said.

Bielarus, a small country located between the Russian Federation and Poland (or "in the heart of Europe", as they like to say here); has become the odd man out in the region. Whereas most nations in the pendence, this country of 10.5 million inhabitants seems to be doing everything in its power to abandon its sovereignty and place its destiny in Moscow's hands.

The government and most of the population fear reform and see Russia as their economic sheet anchor. They dream of "the good old days" when the Bielarussian Republic was better off than the rest of the Soviet Union because it was able to process cheap raw materials with cut-price Russian energy.

Although the customs union with

Russia, which was also approved by referendum, has come into force, there is little chance of monetary union, let aloue political union, between the two countries. Last year Russia cancelled an already signed draft plan for monetary union.

As a Minsk-based diplomat says: "Why buy a cow when you get the milk free? Russia already enjoys all the advantages it wants; it has a military presence, a corridor to Europe. diplomatic support and none of the usual drawbacks."

The Minsk government has been bending over backwards to please Moscow. Bielarus has been more zealous than Russia in its efforts to get the countries of the former Soviet Union to reconstitute a military bloc in order to counter Nato's

In a re-run, on a much smaller scale, of the Soviet Union's shooting down of a KAL airliner in 1983, Bielarus's air defences brought down a hot-air balloon which was taking part in an international competition on September 12. Two Americans were killed. Bielarussian authorities expressed "regret" but made no official apology — and fined the two survivors \$60 each on the grounds that they had entered the country without

The balloon incident was only the tip of the iceberg. There has been a government crackdown in many areas of life. At the end of August, the president signed an edler to "ensure political stability, strengthen discipline and respect for the law. and prevent illegal strikes". The decree suspended the activities of the independent trade union and lifted the immunity of parliamentary deputies and members of local as-

Gennady Alexandrovich Bikov. president of the suspended union. remembers wryly how he was arrested in his office on August 21 by men weuring hoods and bulletproof jackets, then given a 10-day prison sentence for having organised "illegal strike".

In support of its demand that workers' salaries should be paid, the union's transport branch had called a strike on August 17. Some 30 people were arrested, and 82 lost their jobs. Three union leaders, including Bikov, were jailed.

Officials at the presidency prefer not to comment on such incidents. One of President Lukashenko's aides, Ural Latipov, puts down such "domestic problems" to the current separation of powers "as advocated by Montesquieu". "That separation has never been simple in any counking executed," he says. He hopes, however, that in future things will be carried out "in a more civilised fashion".

Opponents of the regime are under no illusion. One of them says: "The people really think that the opposition, parliament and the constitutional court are all preventing the president from handing them happiness on a plate." That means that President Lukashenko cannot do without his opposition - which is some consolation.

(November 6/6)



President Chirac last week accepted the resignation of Alain Juppé's government . . , and prompth reappointed Juppe as premier. In slimming down his government from 41 to 32 members, Juppe sacked 13 ministers (eight of them women) and brought in only four new faces

A prime minister at last?

EDITORIAL

HE institutional set-up introduced by General Charles de Gaulle at the beginning of the Fifth Republic in 1958, under which the president oversees the prime minister he has chosen, is so fraught with ambiguity that it rarely works well. Depending on cir-cumstances and the degree to vhich they have wished to distance themselves from government action, successive presidents have kept either a tight or a loose rein on their premiers.

So far in his presidency, Jacques Chirac has apparently broken new ground. All the key options decided by Prime Minister Alain Juppé, such as the spring mini-budget, the finance act for 1996 and the plan for an overhaul of the social security system, have been overseen by the president. Yet Chirac has given the impression that he loes no more than lay down the proad outlines of policy, while eaving the detail to Juppé.

Like a shipowner, Chirac hires out the boat, chooses the cap-tain, advises him on his choice

voyage and allots the time he lonal markets made wary by the has to achieve it. It is up to the shilly-shallying of his first months captain to chart his route, depending on currents and meteorological imponderables, so he

can safely reach his destination. Now that Chirac has at last made it clear in which direction he wishes to sall, Juppé will be able, with the November 7 cabinet reshuffle, to draw on the talents of a crew who, in theory at least, have more experience of the high seas than their predecessors. But he still has to prove his ability to weather a storm. His first few months as pre-

mier provide absolutely no evidence that he has that ability. And his televised statement on the day of the cabinet reshuffle hardly suggested he had adopted the tack most likely to persuade public opinion to accept the sacrifices in store. His manner contrasted strikingly with Chirac's television intervicw 12 days earlier. The prime minister faces a se-

ries of handicaps. He has to make people forget that he was incapable of getting his first cabinet to work properly - something which, admittedly, its composition made it difficult to do.

shilly-shallying of his first months though not entirely through his policy of austerity, and will now have to make up for lost time, And he will have to do all that without the benefit of firm and overt support from the president. All Chirac has done is keep Juppé on in the prime minister's

left to say how happy he is to enjoy the support of the president. In the best tradition of the Fifth Republic, then, Chirac can thus keep two irons in the fire. Juppé, like Pierre Maurov in 1983, can be asked to do "the dirty work" before someone else comes along and takes the credit for it just before the general election of 1998.

seat. It is Juppé who has been

Juppé may also serve the purpose, as Raymond Barre did from 1976-81, of leading the najority for just as long as it enjoys the support of the elec-torate. That will clearly depend on his ability to instil confidence and to show leadership - in other words, on his ability to behave, at last, like a true prime

Czech Republic puts brakes on privatisation

Françoise Lazare in Prague

THE government of the Czech Republic, which is proud of its Republic, which is proud of its economic record and its success in

ister Vaciav Klaus, a free-market enthusiast, and his government. They cannot, for example, carry out privatisations that will result in higher electricity bills or train fares just before the election.

in the past few years the health sector has undergone considerable upheavals, which led to the resignation of Health Minister Ludek Rubas' in October and his replace ment by former transport minister Jan Strasky, a man'known' for his negotiating skills.

The country now has twice as I many doctors per head of population as Germany. Pavel Veprek, head of a large Prague hospital, thinks it would now be impossible transferring major state-owned com- to privatise hospitals. He says that panies to the private sector, has announced it will wind up the privatisations ministry in May 1996, a rationalised. In short, he thinks re-Several problems face Prime Min- tion, whereas the government has so far preferred to do the reverse.

If Klaus wins the election, he will have to define clearly the dividing line between the private and public sectors; and find responsible owners for newly privatised companies.

Richard Falbrica trade union leader, notes that Klaus recently used the expression "public utili-ues" for the first time, that he has postponed the privatisation of hospitals, and that the unions have succeeded in getting the privatisation of the railways taken of the agenda.

Europe remains a key element of Czech economic policy. Many re-structured Czech companies, which operate in a stable economic envionment, want to be treated on an equal footing with EU companies. A to speed things up here in view of the mechanisms set in motion in dustry does not seem less attractive at European level."

The government's monetary policy has come under fire. With the trade deficit widening, exporters have been calling for a devaluation of the Czech crown, which became fully convertible at the beginning of October, Finance ministry sources say that discussions are under way to authorise fluctuations of between 3 and 5 per cent against the Deutschmark, but that there is no question of floating the crown. '(November 8)

Martin Walker and Router

ARTS of the US federal government shut down operations early on Tuesday after President Bill Clinton confronted Republicans in Congress by vetoing their bill to raise the country's debt ceiling.

However, Republicans said a meeting at the White House late on Monday had made some progress and talks would continue on Tuesday.

I think we're making a little headway," Senate majority leader Bob Dole said after the meeting. "We had a good discus sion. Nobody's going to go out and beat each other up. This is

US budget row leads to federal shutdown

Some 800,000 non-essential employees, or 40 percent of the non-military payroll, were sent home when they reported to work on Tuesday because the federal government had no morrey to pay them. Nerves on the financial

markets were frayed as the dollar fell in Japan and Europe, and Treasury bond prices began edging down as Wall Street traders accused the politicians

of "demoralising the market". The prospect of a US Treasury default on the \$26 billion in obligations which fell due on Wednesday remained unlikely.

However, the Republican bill threatens to make this kind of , political standoff permanent, by closing the various accounting loopholes that the Treasury can,

employ to avoid such a default. Each side now believes it is

Go with the flow of time

Pascal Mérigeau on

the art and artifice of Maurice Pialat's Le Garçu

HERE ARE moments in Maurice Pialat's films which apparently have nothing to do with film-making as we under-stand it. Take one of the restaurant scenes in his latest movie, Le Garçu. Gérard, Sophie and Jeannot sit down at a table. They are joined by Cathy. When Gerard asks her Whether she would prefer a table by the window, she says she would. So everyone moves to another table.

The move does not seem to mean much. It is almost as if Pialat had had second thoughts, from a pictorial point of view, and inadvertently left traces of his indecision in the final cut. But in fact it is a directorial device, which has its significance without our realising it: the change of scenery results in Gérard and Sophie having a row.

Or perhaps one should say Gérard and Sylvie, for the Christian name of the character played by Géraldine Pailhas changes at vari-ous times in the film. That, too, is something that never normally happens in the cinema, any more than characters who look straight at the

Four-year-old Antoine - played by Antoine Pialat, the son of Maurice Pialat and his co-scriptwriter wife, Sylvie Danton - stares at the camera more than once. And in a scene on the island of Mauritius where Antoine and Sophie/Sylvie are travelling on a bus, the dozens of children who laugh and scream are clearly doing so for the benefit

of the camera.
That is Pialat's way of making films. Le Garcu, his 11th movie, is like his first, L'Enfance Nue (1967). in that he sets it in a kind of spacetime continuum which is very much his own property, where artifice seems to be spontaneous reality and the fictional is inseparable from the

Pialat sets about filling that continuum from the start of the film, first on the sound track - we hear the voices of a child and a woman as the credits roll against a blue background - and then in the first shot, which is of a small boy in shorts careering across a white room.

After that, we see the boy and his mother playing on a bed, without yet knowing who they are or where we are — except that we are in a Pialat film, because actors do not talk like that in other people's movies, and no one else films them in this

Then we are gradually able to take our bearings: this must be the flat in Paris where Gérard (Gérard Depardieu), Sophie and Antoine live; the next moment, they are on holiday in Mauritius, or at the Vendée seaside resort of Sables-d'Olonne for the weekend. We know where we are, but never exactly when.

When Cathy (Fabienne Babe) makes her appearance, she clambers into Gérard's bed. Later on, there is a scene where they seem to be meeting for the first time. Is it a | films the grimly mechanical dancflashback? Not really, because to have a flashback the narrative has of other people, prompting obscene to have a present, and there is no comments and sexist libes, one is



Depardieu: plays the director's alter ego memorably in Le Garçu

past either, but rather such a tight interweaving of present and past that they inexorably point to the fu-

without reflecting that he will become an old man, or a cradle without thinking of a grave," Gustave Flaubert wrote in a letter to Louise Colet. That child in Le Garçu is Antoine, whom Pialat films as though trying to hold back the march of time, "Good God, how time flies!" Gérard says as he looks at photos of

Antoine when he was younger.

About 15 minutes before the end of the film, as a distraught Depardieu contemplates his dead father lying on a bed in a clinic, we learn that the garçu of the title (a patois word for garçon) is neither Antoine, nor Gérard, but Gérard's father. "That's it," his father had scrawled on a piece of paper before dying.

ATER, as the body is placed in a coffin and nuns launch 🔳 into a hymn, Gérard has to stifle a laugh and wishes he had realised that the shroud automatically consisted of a sheet of plastic unless the customer advised otherwise.

Gérard picks up his father's overnight case, which is full of letters, his wallet, a few photos, his toothbrush and a bottle of eau-de-Cologne. His death bed has already been filled by another dying man.

This sequence, which is like a perception of what follows, which is neither different nor the same like the water of a pond which, as | as Jeannot, all give memorable Sophie remarks, either remains still or flows, depending on the spot.

Nothing shifts, yet there is a flow which Plalat captures without altering its direction, which he controls without harnessing, and which leads him from one scene to the next, or from one movie to its prede-

cessor or successor. In the sequence where Pialat

present in Le Garçu. There is no | reminded of the brothel scene in his previous film, Van Gogh, where a whill of the end of the world and the imminent death of mankind can also

Gérard is loud and outsized, like the electric lorry he buys Antoine, not so much to delight his son as to prove to himself and others that he s alive and kicking.

He has become a millstone, as Sophie points out to him, particularly now he no longer serves any purpose. At the end of the film Gérard is on the far side of a pane of glass, watching a movie from whose first scene he was excluded and which, if it were not about to end, would continue without him. The final shot homes in on Sophie.

By erasing his alter ego, Pialat closes the door on his own life, which he had left ajar for a moment (focusing on his child, his father's death and elements of his earlier films). The private and confessional tone that is so strongly in evidence throughout Le Garçu has less to do with its directly autobiographical dimension than with Pialat's unique and deeply moving way of unburdening himself: he imposes his presence, as an invisible actor, on a work of which he is at once the creator and the spectator, and

which seems to reveal itself to him as he directs it. This stripping of the threads of life is reflected in the symbolic, almost initiatory denuding of Gérard | year-old children change too fast. film within a film, throws light on | and Sophie before they offer themselves to each other. Pailhas, Depardieu, Babe and Dominique Rocheteau (a former football star)

> performances. More particularly, Depardieu's sense of humour, combined with his ability to give himself totally to a part and to a director while remaining himself, and the force that emanates from Pailhas as she suffers a flurry of humiliations and insults somehow create the right conditions for the laughing and carefree Antoine Pialat to put across the message of the film: that hope must al-

ways spring eternal...

Cut and paced job

Maurice Pialat talks to Jean-Michel Frodon

about movie-making

W HEN YOU visit Maurice Pi-alat at his home in the oothills of the Pyrenees, he is warm and outgoing — the complete oppo-site of the snarling and tyrannical director of legend. He is someone who commits himself totally to each film, and therefore cannot understand or tolerate anyone else telling

him what he should do. For him, the only valid cinematic genre is popular cinema. His happiest memory as a director is of the big queues he saw outside cinemas that were showing his only real boxoffice success, Nous Ne Vieillirons Pas Ensemble (1972).

It emerged casually from our conversation that some of the shots in Le Garçu were directed not by him but by his wife Sylvie. How was it that a director who embodied the most personal type of cinema could allow someone else to shoot certain scenes? Pialat feels that an auteur is not necessarily the person who controls every detail of a film, but rather the person who sets his or ier stamp on it.

He agreed he was a "realistic" director. "But often, when that term is used, I get the feeling it means 'limited' or 'unimaginative' — yet another misunderstanding." He regards his film Police (1985) as a failure, because he broke the rules of the genre he wanted to respect.

Pialat, who is 70, more than once expressed frustration at the fact that he had made so few films (11 in 26 years). He touched on the subject of death, which is never absent from his movies, and alluded to the health problems that slowed down the preparation of Le Garcu and affected the shooting of it: "I fell several times while we were making it. I could have killed myself, but luckily I know how to fall."

The starting point for Le Garçu was Pialat's stint as a sales rep in the fifties, first for a pharmaceutical laboratory, then for a typewriter company. That was the setting he chose for a film about a man and a woman who eventually became Sophic and Jeannot in Le Garçu. But in the final version of the script, Palat climinated the sales-rep background and also changed details of the death of his father -- "the most autobiographical scene in Le Garçu".

Then a degree of urgency en tered the equation: Pialat wanted to film his own son Antoine, so the emphasis of the screenplay was shifted to give the boy and his father (Depardieu) a more important role. "I wanted to film Antoine when he was that age," says Pialat. It was impossible to wait any longer, as four-

"I didn't direct Antoine at all. We didn't rehearse any scenes. I just tried to create play situations that enabled him to do what he wanted within the framework of the film. I didn't want any soppy teddy-bear scenes or anything.".

In a way, Antoine was the ideal

actor for a director like Pialat; "I like movies to get made almost on automatic pilot. I like actors to take the

Plalat had no problems with Depardieu, who in the course of the four films on which they have worked together, starting with Loulou (1980), has become Pialat's virtual alter ego, despite some serious rows between the two men: "I

don't direct him, he does it all by himself. I think that during the whole shooting of the film I must have given him only two indications as to how I wanted him to act."

To his surprise, Plalat also found himself on the same wavelength as Géraldine Pailhas, whom he met by chance during an evening of César awards [the French equivalent of the Oscars). She was reluctant to be screen-tested. Pialat thinks that thanks to her performance, Sylvie in Le Garçu is "the most successful of all my female characters".

Pialat's films are prepared in immense detail — his screenplays are often extremely bulky - but can be influenced by random events on set. And even the shooting of a film, for him, is merely a process of collecting "material". The final construction of the movie, which is particularly complex in the case of Le Garçu, "was entirely worked out at the cutting stage". Pialat hired Herve de Luze, an

editor with much experience of films with a highly classical narrative style (such as Claude Berris): "I left him on his own for three months, and only then did I turn up in the cutting room. The structure of the movie was devised at that point, but the elements were al ready there."

Sometimes the very existence of chance: "I wasn't sure I really wanted to go to Mauritius. A week refore we were due to leave. ossed a coin and it told us to go. And for once I hadn't cheated."

It is far from certain that after le Garçu, a film where the director's sensibilities are very thinly disguised, Pialat will stick for good to



making movies set in modern time He is still obsessed with a subject which he has had a go at, then abardoned, at least 10 times, the Occupation, "about which no one has tok the truth. He is deeply hurt and angry when people suspect him of being soft on the Vichy regune.

He told me about his project for a film on the subject called Lyon, de

scribed his own experience of the the novelist Louis-Ferdinand Clines anti-Semitism on the grounds of his literary talent. In other words, re ports that Maurice Plaist is no world-weary and at peace with his self are way off the mark. (November 1)

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GUARDIAN WEEKLY

Power of Babel

It's your friends who matter. not your nationality, say the new Euro-kids.

Roger Tredre reports

HEY SPEAK two or more languages fluently, have friends from a dozen countries, go "home" a couple of times a year to see their grandparents, and think Michael Portillo a very bad joke indeed.

These are the Euro-kids. Despite increasing antagonism on the politi-cal right towards European integration, a generation of children is growing up inculcated with European values. There are 3,500 of them at the European School in Uccle, south Brussels, mostly children of EU officials.

Alexandra Pledge, a 16-year-old British pupil, said; "My parents came here 20 years ago. We go to see my grandmother in Leamington Spa, but the country where you live is not really relevant. It's where your friends are that matters."

The Euro-kids are living the European dream. Their school's philosophical raison d'être is sealed, in parchment, into the foundation stones: "Educated side by side, untroubled from infancy by divisive prejudices, acquainted with all that s great and good in the different cultures, it will be borne in upon them as they mature that they belong together. Without ceasing to look to their own lands with love and pride, they will become in mind complete and consolidate the work of their fathers before them, to bring into being a united and thriv-ing Europe."

The linguistic proficiency of the children is astonishing. The play-ground babble switches between two, three, four languages, sometimes in a single conversation.

A class of nine and 10-year-olds, all multilingual, talked happily about learning more languages. Erica Tirr, who described herself as Italian and English, spoke Italian, English and French, and wanted to learn German. Charles Gosme (French and Scottish) wanted to tackle German and Greek. Lisa Clarke, who was English and had lived in Tanzanla, fancied Swahili. The British pupils see no contra-

diction between being European and British. One teenager said: "I feel European with hints of Englishness." Emily Cox, aged 17, said: "I feel English and I read English writers, but if you don't live in the culture they can see you as a stranger. You can't talk about the latest episode of Brookside.

This sense of alienation may be a downside of the European experience. John Bulwer, a teacher who wrote a university thesis on the subject, suggested: "It's possible that European-ness consists to a certain extent of losing clearly identifiable national characteristics." But Brigid Granmann, editor of

the the Bulletin, a Belgian Englishlanguage weekly, welcomes this. An Irish passport holder, she has lived most of her life in Belgium, "I very Europeans, schooled and ready to definitely feel European. Real Irish

Michael Leahy, aged 35, an adver-



Language is no barrier . . . Students of the European School at Eccle, Brussels

PHOTOGRAPH JEROME de PERLINGHI

people don't consider me Irish, Beltising copywriter, another Irish gians don't consider me quite Belgian. When I was a child I envied of the European School, said: "From other children their roots in one over here, the level of anti-European country, but now I see my situation feeling in Britain is very alarming as an asset. I elect my roots, I'm genuinely independent." Ms Graumann shares the views of many teenagers at the European

School on the British in Britain: They're are often very insular. Their jokes seem so xenophobic. can't empathise with them." child should feel respected."

What's most extraordinary is this feeling that Euro-this or Euro-that implies non-English. But the two are not incompatible."

The school's teachers strongly deny breaking down national identity. Headmaster John Marshall said: "All cultures are equal. Every there were only two views of every-

The structure of the school is geared towards realising the vision of its founders. The pupils are never taught history or geography in their mother tongue. Mr Marshall ex-plained: The idea is that you become more objective about your own country and outward-looking

towards other countries."

Mr Marshall has given short shrift to recent attempts by the Greek government to have Greek history taught in Greek to Greek pupils. "It's not that we are trying to change anyone's views, but we want to expose them to other views, to cut down attempts by governments

R LEAHY added a note of realism: "You still get prejudice at the school. Yes, the Germans are still considered boring, the French pompous, the Italians hot-blooded. But it doesn't stop you making friends with these nationalities. With time, nationality becomes an irrelevance."

Every year, some 90 children from the school go to British universities, of whom only a third are of UK origin. Mr Marshall said: "They don't worry about boundaries or borders. A substantial number of them will do a couple of years in one country and then go to another country to finish off."

For a lesson in broadmindedness. the playground of the European School certainly takes some beating. The headmaster was in agreement: "It's very impressive when you hear them arguing politically. Nothing is black or white because they're all too aware of other views. If you listen to the British press, you'd think

thing." - The Observer

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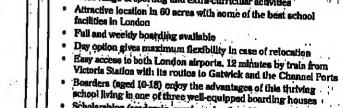
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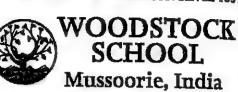
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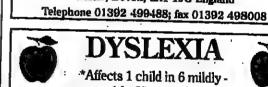
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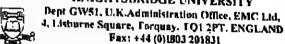
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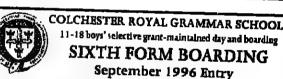
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Full Job Description is available on request. Contact: Al.IN, Caster Postal 3, Dakar-Fann, Senegal Telephone 221 25 18 08, Fax: 221 25 45 21



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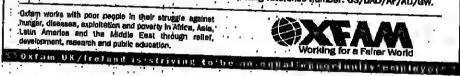
Oxfam works with poor people in their struggle against murger, diseases, exploitation and poverty in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Middle Eest through relief, development, research and public education.

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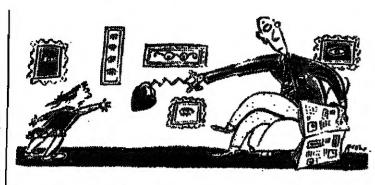
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Suzanne Moore argues that adults should stop protecting their own idea of childhood and start protecting actual children

THERE is no question that Julia Somerville's daughter has been subject to indecen and abusive behaviour - and it has nothing to do with any photographs. It is being identified in the press and if ever there was a invasion of privacy this was it.

Yet, "there but for the grace of God go I" discussions have been tak- | NSPCC made last week has not | ing place everywhere since the TV | been widely supported - "It is betnewsreader had to endure police questioning over her family photographs. Parents know they, too, have taken pictures of naked children. I certainly have. We have asked ourselves and each other how old the with children who have been damchild might be when this starts to aged beyond repair. We live in a clifeel uneasy. And we have found no | mate, remember, in which we are satisfactory answer except that it | told by commentators that the figmight be around the age of the girl in this case — seven.

Some people have reacted angrily to what they see as a conspiracy of politically correct photographic processors shopping innocent families to the police. Filth is in the eye of the beholder. But we already know that paedophiles can get off on | tions in order to deny what is obvipictures of children in underwear in their own dark-rooms in which to develop their dark fantasies.



because children are innocent and | that we should want to have sex we must protect innocence at all | with them. It does not mean they costs. Yet the argument that the ter to take a risk and to be wrong than not to and leave a child to suffer years of abuse" — but then this is an organisation that works to protect children and which deals daily ures for child abuse are simply wrong. It is as if we would rather protect our idea of childhood than protect actual children.

Sometimes I don't know what this concept of innocence does for children. They become blank screens on which we project our idealisaous to everyone who has been in catalogues. We know that they have | close contact with a child. Children are sexual beings. This may not be the time to insist that they are, but I Parents know that they do what they do in good faith. Pictures of dren are sexual beings does not their partner's children. Their vigi-

Children are taught that if they are | be extremely uncomfortable if any lost or scared they must find "a lady or a policeman", never an ordinary man. This is a sad state of affairs but we know why this has come about.

There is, though, a growing concern about the sexualisation of all imagery. Recent research shows that British men are unhappy with the increasing portrayal of male bodies as objects of desire. It makes them feel inadequate. This is a feeling that women know so well that we have almost given up complaining about it. In spite of all this, there is a degree of consensus about how far we should go. No one really bothered to defend Calvin Klein's recent advertising campaign which featured adolescents in sexually provocative poses. People remain rightly suspicious that advertisers will do anything to grab attention.

HILE THE Klein campaign was erotically explicit, all such content must be erased from what we consider to be family photographs. Photographer Sally Mann's beautiful and disturbing pictures of her own children have been highly controversial. There have been calls for censorship - for we know too that beauty is in the eye of the beholder.

What is compelling about Mann's work is that the erotic charge comes from the maternal eye and the children clearly like posing for her, as children do. The maternal and erotic instincts are seen culturgirls, or of not being able to talk to a | ally as mutually exclusive. These lost child for fear of being seen as are not spontaneous snapshots but an abuser. Stepfathers, that growing | carefully planned photographs that intertwine them. I would defend her right to take them but I would not deny that there are sexual elements naked children are innocent, we say, mean that they want to have sex or lance is, unfortunately, necessary. To the pictures ... and, yes, I would

one other than the children's mother had taken them.

To get beyond the question of innocent children and guilty adults however, or to pretend that every thing that happens within families entirely innocent and devoid of any kind of sexuality, we should be able to talk about what sort of behaviour is and isn't appropriate. Often, have seen situations where children start imposing rules on their more liberal parents. They do not want to undress in front of anyone else and they make it clear that they would prefer their parents to cover themselves up. Once a child is selfconscious about being naked perhaps it is time to stop taking photographs of them. Would this be such a great curtailing of liberty Would it destroy family life? Should we ask ourselves whether we take more pictures of naked girl children than we do of boys? And if so why?

One could, instead, argue that we should be more comfortable with our bodies and stop seeing nudity as inherently sexual - but this is not going to happen overnight. While complaining that there is too much sex around, we cannot feign surprise that the so-called innocence of children ends earlier and earlier.

Rather than suggesting more selfimposed limitations on already confused parents, I would rather parents talk more openly about this whole ambivalent area. To do so. however, would mean admitting that maybe, just maybe, we are not all as innocent as we would like to believe we are. Perhaps we never were. Such an admission would not mean that we are guilty, merely that we are grown up. And what a long

An actor in his prime

GUARDIAN WEEKLY

OBITUARY Paul Eddington

THE ACTOR Paul Eddington has I died, aged 68, just when his career appeared unassailable. Only 10 years ago he reported feeling still "the new boy" — "then people suddenly started calling me 'Sir' and finding me chairs."

A quiet, modest man, he achieved sudden, late elevation after a solidly respectable stage career thanks largely to fame brought about by the seventies' TV sit-com The Good Life. This was quickly followed by Yes, Minister when, as the hesitant Jim Hacker, Eddington's niche in the nation's affections was assured.

Eddington .

In the early years and in some

financial hardship, he did think of

giving up. But his wife Patricia,

whom he married in 1952, insisted

she had married an actor, not a

salesman. So he continued, working

with leading repertory companies,

on Broadway (in 1964 in the adapta-

tion of Iris Murdoch's A Severed

Head) and for short spells at Chich-

ester, with the RSC and the Na-

tional. There were also appearances

in many of the other TV staples of

Through the 1970s and 1980s, he

the past two decades.

Born in north London of Quaker and Catholic parents, he was sent to a Quaker co-educational boarding school where he learned how to "sit still for long periods without fidgeting". It was a skill that never left him and which he demonstrated with luminous quality in his last stage appearance in Home when, as the geriatric resident, he stared out in perfect stillness at the audience.

Eddington left school at 17 without qualifications, and began his acting career in 1944 with Ensa. His

. an actor devout in his profession PHOTOGRAPH: JANE BOWN first job was at the Colchester Garri- | Michael Frayn's Donkey's Years, and Noises Off, and Alan Bennett's Forty Years On.

In recent years, though steadily Land and Storey's Home that confirmed him as an actor in his prime. Fiercely protective of his privacy,

They had four children.

Carol Woddls

undermined by cancer, he reached a level of performance in plays such as the revival of Pinter's No Man's

he did not relish "going public" about his illness. His marriage to Patricia gave him great happiness.

starred in and created West End Paul Eddington, actor, born June roles in several new plays, including | 18, 1927; died November 4 1995

In the line of fire bling down his face; his hands shook violently and his voice was barely audible through his sobs: "We've been friends since primary school; we were in the Resistance together. We went to each other's weddings. We've been hunting together every Sunday after mass for years and

years. I thought he was behind me. thought he was the boar. He was behind the bushes, just where a boar would have been. I knew as soon as I'd fired that something was wrong." He had been charged with involuntary homicide. It was yet another hunting accident. Sometimes it's not an accident. A

schoolteacher's dog was blinded in one eye not 100 yards from his house; an elderly lady saw a chasseur step over her garden wall and take aim at one of her cats, which was dead before she could shout out.

Of course, these are the exceptions. We have one good friend who can't understand why we persistently refuse his offers of a jar of home-made thrush paté. And another who maintains he only hunts to keep his eye in for when the revolution comes. One summer, several years ago.

our younger daughter worked for a farmer who was an official of the hunt. She was living in her caravan on a hillside above his farmhouse. One day she was sitting on her primitive toilet between some trees when she heard grunting. Two large wild boars were snuffling their way towards her. While she was de-ciding if she had time to pull up her pants and climb a tree before they attacked, she saw plastic tags in their ears. They had just been released by the *eleveurs* who breed a variety of animals and birds for the

around her and slowly moved on, obviously very accustomed to people. Later that night her boss called her. He had shot one of the beasts and, as it was still several weeks before the hunt officially opened, it

hunt. They shuffled and grunted

HE OLD man had tears turn | wheelbarrow up the hill to the scene of the crime. They covered the blood on the ground with sand, and pushed the body back to the house, where she and the wife set about butchering it. There was too much meat to go in their own freezer so trusted friends were called to come and take it away.

I have no objection to the principle of hunting. I have in my time shot and netted rabbits in Somerset and Yorkshire and I used to enjoy angling despite a conspicuous lack of success. To be honest, I think I would even enjoy a boar hunt on the wooded slopes of Mont Ventoux. But I would be deterred by the memory of the two boar-gored dogs bleeding from stomach wounds that we saw at the vet's where we took our own dog who had been poisoned from meat put down by the garde de chasse to kill foxes,

N THE DAYS when la N THE DAYS when la larly Sundays, shots ring out all around us and the land is covered with cartridge cases which our grandchildren love to collect. Over the years I have asked passing chassenrs if they have shot anything and almost always they say, sadly, that they have seen nothing.

At the beginning of each season the press is full of articles explaining that la chasse is environmentally sound; that the chasseurs are greener than Greenpeace; and that hunting comes second only in sanctity to the French language itself.

For some of the younger hunters the hunt is a fashion parade: chic urban guerrillas stroll proudly between the vines talking animatedly and firing in all directions. They lack respect for the laws governing hunting: no shooting within 150m of houses and one's back always to be turned on any habitation. We often get lead pellets clattering on to the

But I'm not really complaining: our dog has caught a very edible hare and rabbit, which is more than had to be disposed of. She took a the hunters seem to do.

Notes & Queries Joseph Harker

WHEN WILL continental drift (Britain is supposedly drifting towards the US) begin to have an effect on the Channel

IEVER. The attachment of V Britain to the rest of Europe was a geological reality millions of years before it became a late 20th century political issue. The Channel s simply part of the continental shelf which underlies the shallow seas around northern Europe and there is little possibility of significant movements in the Earth's crust between Britain and France which could affect the Channel tunnel. As or Britain drifting towards the US, the opposite is the case. As a result of continental drift, the width of the North Atlantic is steadily increasing by 2-3 cm a year. In reality the US is drifting away from Britain. — Tom Davies, Austin, Texas

COONER than you think in a O tunnel, you cannot use "leaves on the track" or "snow on the line". to explain away train delays. — Faron Moller, Uppsala, Sweden

A T ABOUT the same time as it becomes profitable. — Richard Scrase, Bath, Aron

HY IS a kangaroo court so called?

DECAUSE it jumps to the wrong Conclusions. - Angela Green, Boun, Germany

garoo club of long-serving inmates brim and solld crown that would as powerful, in their spheres, as: protect the head, could be worn the prison officers (known as comfortably all day and would not screws). The rhyming slang for need a chin strap to keep it on. It: 0171/44171-242-0985, or posted screw is kangaroo. In addition, needed to be an exact fit, which is to The Guardian Weekly, 75 Farring-

The offender is given no chance to speak in his own defence. device that gives a paper template of the customer's head. The original The earliest record of the usage is Cook's was dark brown, not black. 1860, but it obtained wide currency — Harry Sigerson, Tokyo, Japan in the 1960s when applied to the ir regular punitive measures taken by

NITALY a flasco is what you Palmer, St Albans, Hertfordshire buy Chianti in, so how did it acquire the English meaning? THE WORD "cleave" has two A CCORDING to Brewer, fiasco was a Venetian slang term for opposite meanings — either to stick together or to split apart. glass-blowing that had gone wrong. The word was adopted by theatre What are the origins of this contradiction, and are there other words that do the same thing? and opera audiences as a term of

certain trade unions. - Brian

__IOW about the word "conserve": to save or protect (the countryside) as in conservation; or to destroy or dismantle (the country) as in Conservatives. — Guy Johnston, Kirchhundem, Germany

EFT can be interpreted as "de-L. parted" or "remaining". — Luke Williams, Sydenham, London

HAMBERS explains "overlook" as both "to view carefully" and "to fail to notice". Dana in Two Years Before The Mast often uses the word "stand" to mean the movement of a ship. — John Orford, Balingasag, Philippines

WHO invented the bowler hat and what was the inspiration behind its unique shape?

THE BOWLER has its origins in the Cook's or Coke's hat. It was ANGAROO courts were originally held in prisons and have no legal standing. The offender was summarily disciplined by the "kan smart, presentable hat with a stout smart smart

straight without external support.

— Colin Pilkington, Ormskirk, Lancs Any answers?

abuse shouted at artists who had

Chianti bottles have a spherical

body which needs a raffia cradle in

which to sit, Presumably, flasco is

something which attempts a spec-

tacular outcome but which is so fee-

bly executed that it cannot stand up

ailed to hit the right notes.

WHY DOES my stubble grow laster when I travel by plane? — Peter Pappamikail, Brussels

WHY DO the cockroaches in our bathroom always die on their backs? Is this a universal cockroach characteristic, and do some other insects or animals do the same? — Anna Griffiths, Cabo Delgado

WHERE CAN I find recordings of the Internationale and the old Soviet national anthem? - Tony King, Oxford

Answers should be e-mailed to kangaroos are thought, 'erro- why a proper bowler hat is custom | don Hoad, London Ec Livi or local neously, to make no audible sound. I made with the use of a measuring | Volume 6 is now available (£6.99)

A Country Diary

Michael Binnie

// ARACHI: One of the charms of city life in Pakistan is the presence of the countryside within it in the shape of its domestic animals. Apart from Islamabad there isn't a city without its horse-drawn taxis, called tongas, and here in Karachi anything from computers to bananas is likely to be delivered by camel or donkey cart. Goats, sheep, ducks and hens wander freely about the busy streets and ne is as likely to be woken up in the morning by cock crow as by the roar of traffic.

One evening my bus was held up on the edge of the city by a convoy of lordes carrying freshly cut grass. On inquiring I was told that the lorries were: bound for the Buffalo Colony, the latter word describing a residential area for workers of a particular occupation, for instance, Railway Colony or No 3 Sweeper Colony. A few days later a friend who teaches in the Buffalo Colony took me there.

All the children in my friend's chool were from the families of buffalo workers and, as it happened, Christians, one time converts from the lowest castes of Hindus. Someone took me on a tour of the buffalo yards and we seemed to walk for miles. Some of the yards had perhaps 50 animals and others many hundreds. Attached to the yards were lines of one-roomed houses: unlike Europe, this is a labour-intensive industry and all the milking is done by h Beside each yard was a large dung heap, from which all colony residents were free to help themselves. Every household cooked on dry dung.

Though some Karachi families own their own buffaloes, fire bulk of the city's milk comes from this enormous, metropolitan factory farm. This was mid-morning and a slack time. Small knots of milkers were squatting in groups and gossiping while thousands of buffaloes peacefully chewed the cud, slowly manufacturing. the next day's supplies.



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should not be protected. It does not

mean they can give what we under-

stand to be consent. It simply means

that we cannot continue to talk as

though adults have sexuality and

children have none. We could have

a frank and, yes, even adult discus-

sion about what constitutes a sexual

image of a child if we were prepared

In public, however, there are only

two positions: presumed guilt (nu-

dity equals sex equals obscenity) or

presumed innocence (there is never

any erotic content in pictures of

naked children taken by their fami-

lies). We know in our hearts that it

Male friends have told me of

being made uncomfortable by the

flirtatious behaviour of nine-year-old

breed, often find it difficult to know

s more complicated than that.

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Aces in Melbourne's winning hand

THEATRE **Michael Billington**

Going for a Sunday morning stroll, I passed three men in orange bodystockings and cockatoo hair who struck silver thimbles across their washboard stomachs: a street theatre group called Chrome IV. Then, on the bustling riverside terraces, I came across a mysterious Pied Piper trailed by a self-propelling geranium-covered box and a horde of curious children. I later hopped on a tram festooned with botanical

greenery.

Melbourne, compared with Sydney, is often thought of as a sober, strait-laced city: not, however, during festival time.

But it would be wrong to inuply that Melbourne's annual 'arts jamboree is dominated by the wild and wacky. It started 10 years ago as an offshoot of Menotti's Spoleto Festival. Now, under the direction of Leo Schofield, it has acquired a character of its own, successfully bridging the gap between the highbrow and the populist.

· Two British companies dominated the drama programme. Complicite's The Three Lives Of Lucie Cabrol was received ecstatically (in fact, it won the local critics' award for excellence); Cheek by Jowl's new production of The Duchess Of Malfi (opening at Wyndham's Theatre, London, on January 2) rather more guardedly.

Part of the latter's problem, I suspect, was the audience's unfamiliarity with the play. During the interval I was chatting with a top banana from ABC TV and a local playwright, who looked appalled when I casually mentioned that the Duchess dies in Act Four it was as if I'd given away the ending of an Agatha Christic thriller. Against that there was the jolly suburban lady I sat next to who leaned across at the end and said, "Better than Home And Awayi'

Quite a lot better. The great thing about Declan Donnellan's radical revisionist production is that it brings out the psychological and political modernity of Webster's gory Jacobean masterpiece. The implied setting is a pre-war Mussoliniesque Italy torn between the dictates of fascism and the rituals of Catholicism:

TELEVISION

Nancy Banks-Smith

Sergeant O'Brien on you.

DO TRY to concentrate. We have Roughnecks (BBC1)

Roughcaps. Wake up or I'll set

"If any of you are builled at any

stage. I want to know about it," sald

O'Brien without a glimmer of irony.

This was Redcaps, a documentary

was O'Brien who, grinding a tooth or two, greeted the first hopeful ar-

rival with "You've turned up in jeans

for the Royal Military Police Train-

ing Centre, have you? With a girly

chain round your shagging neck?

GET THAT CHAIN OFF NOW!"

Private Wakefield CWAKE UP.

series about the military police. I

and then we have Redcaps (BBC1). Here are some simple questions



Critical acclaim . . . Lilo Baur in Complicité's The Three Lives of Lucie Cabrol, which captured an award for excellence at the Melbourne Festival

first seen praying, amid a welter of Hail Marys, over her husband's cof fin and Bosola's black shirt conceals discreet crucifix. Donnellan economically evokes a hierarchical, religious world high on cruelty and sexual torment: one in which the Cardinal's mistress anally rapes Bosola with a loaded pistol.

But the most startling feature of the production is Anastasia Hille's Duchess. In place of the usual persecuted martyr we get a tetchy, sexy, chain-smoking neurotic who seduces her steward with disdainful ease but whose real emotional life is with her twin brother, Ferdinand. The same idea underscored the recent Greenwich, London, production; but here it is pushed to the limits with Hille nestling erotically in her brother's lap and Scott Handy's Ferdinand thrust ing a dead hand into his sister's as if it were a mad childhood prank.

But festivals are not just about one-off events: they are also about meaningful juxtapositions. Mel-bourne's admirable Playbox Theatre had the bright, ambitious idea of bringing together two plays about the crimes attendant on war. Tanaka Chikao's The Head Of Mary is a 1958 Japanese play about Nagasaki

directory inquiries, buckled at the

knees and had to be revived with a

glass of water when Sergeant O'Brien spotted a speck of fluff on

alise what would happen to the

British army if everyone went sick

EVERY TIME THEY GOT A SHAG-

GING COLD?" "Your cap badge

should be a quarter of an inch above

your left eye SO WHY IS IT ROUND

YOUR SHAGGING EAR?" "Look at

mine and look at yours. WHAT IS

THE DIFFERENCE?" The correct

answer to this is: "Yours is shinler

than filme, sarge." but on no account

attempt to say it. All questions in the

Roughnecks, Kieran Prendiville's

second series about oil rig workers,

WAKEFIELDY), hardened to abuse I is like an old friend who has quite I miracles and pleasant surprises with

army are rhetorical.

John Romeril's The Floating World s a 1974 Australian classic about memories of the Burma railway played by a Japanese company. See ing the two plays back to back in a bilingual double-bill, one got a strong sense of shared guilt and

I have to admit that Tanaka's play made me uneasy: dealing with a group of Catholic believers trying to abscond with the shattered pieces of a statue of the Virgin Mary, it seemed to imply that the bomb dropped on Nagasaki was an act of God rather than the result of a military-political decision.

But The Floating World was a remarkable study in Brechtian alienation. Here was a group of Japanese actors telling the story of a xenophobic Australian ex-PoW who re-lives his horrific memories of wartime capture. It was not only a fine production by Makoto Sato. Something beyond theatre was happening. It was as if a group of Japanese actors was seeking absolution for the crimes committed by a previ ous generation: I found it deeply

vals not just to enjoy but to listen

you meet again. It was, you remem-

ber, about a band of brothers. Rau-

cous, funny, tough and welded

Izzy's lodging house is still bul-

ing wildebeest. "All perlummacking

Inside the rig the workers are crammed into each other's reeking,

riotous company. Outside is the huge and beautiful scoop of the va-

machine guns are boarding the rig.

Nothing so sad as a funny story.

Faulty Tours (Short Stories, Chan-

nel 4) was about 11 Russians, who

answered Bob Waters's enticing ad-

vertisement for a package holiday in Blackpool: "A gleaming city full of

Now read on ...

around the place" as Izzy puts it.

A right carry on, sergeant slipped your memory but who a sparkling night life that will shake rushes back in every detail when up your emotions and plunge you

moving.

My belief that people go to festi-

the Duchess's sinister brothers are here played by Australian actors; and learn was also confirmed by a whole series of Melbourne events. Robert Hughes's lecture on Art and Identity, which packed out Melbourne Town Hall, took up many of the themes of his recent book. The Culture Of Complaint: the dangers of using art to re-affirm tribal identity, the loony excesses of American political correctness (a concert performance of Peter And The Wolf was recently stopped because it was thought to give a negative image of wolves), and the premature canonisation by galleries of unhatched young artists ("It's like chucking eggs in the air," said Hughes, "and

high on the international calendar)

are not just a random collection of

yum-yum artistic thrills but places

to keep the sinking affair affoat.

"Has anyone heard of Coronation

Street? I don't believe it! Jack and

Vera? 'ilda Ogden? No? Well, that's

it's Blackpool's newest attraction.

switched on by a group called The

Bee Gees. Can you raise your hands

f you've heard of the Bee Gees? No

ody heard of the Bee Gees?"

admiring the grace of their flight"). No less stimulating was An Evening With Ricky Jay: a bearded, Wellesian sleight-of-hand artist he was in Mamet's House Of Games - who exercises magical fingertip control over playing cards. He was one of the aces in Melbourne's pack and offered simultaneously entertainment and a potted history of deception: living proof that the best festivals (and Melbourne now rates done anything like it before.

love or curiosity that made :. new work to them all.

There is, after all, a lot riding on this one small tune and on.

get at the essence of the song ho also to play with the multipl rhythms, colours and tempos of its re-incarnations. ... The problem with all the won-

The World of Coronation Street and: derful dance, though, is that it doesn't grab the audience. Alson cant sky. Meanwhile terrorists with | The Illuminations are going to be is determined to let the move ment speak for itself — not to ham up the emotion or have the dancers flirting with the public But the whole history of this said ody neard of the Bee Geesi. speaks of night clubs and dans halls, of glamour, sex and enter tainment. There's a hit dying in be let out but this isn't quite it. insistently how to get to London. "Later," said Bob firmly. "Today we are going to take the tram to The Sand Castle."

Swept along on a tide of emotions

GUARDIAN WEEK! November 19 198

DANCE **Judith Mackrell**

TS THE music, as always, that sets the tone for Slobhan Davies's new double bill of dance at Sadier's Wells. In Wild Translations, set to Kevin Volans's Fifth String Quartet, the music's driving staccato seems to grab the dancers in its fist, lifting them around the stage as they kick and wheel to escape its grasp, their limbs jack-knifing with ferocloss energy. Suddenly, the music ightens to thin, distinct sounds and the dancers are let loose on their own meditations.

The piece seems to be about memory. Sections of Volans's score are overlaid with the noise of children, insects and farm machinery. A delicate splaying of fingers conjures up slow, dusty heat, two women companional shift their weight against each other, while some remembered horror joits another into a distressed sideways leap. The pulse of Davies's choreography keeps her seven dancers moving between intricately sculpted

For the Art Of Touch, Davies gets a totally different energy from a series of Scarlatti keyboard sonatas, a hard combativ dynamism that sets the dancers chasing each other round the stage, raising their fists. At moments there's a devilish energy to this, but at others the dance seems to get caught on a

It's with the the other sections of the score, Matteo Fargion's Sette Canzoni for amplified clavichord, that Davies's invention spurks again. In quieter passages the dancers explore all the hades and textures of touching - from hands shaken at each other like pocket handkerchleß to a whirling waltz. It is beautiful and bizarre, and Davies has never

How many different ways can ou perform a single jazz tunei It's hard to tell whether it was Richard Alaton want to ferret out 11 different versions of Hosgy Carmichael's 1927 classic Stardust and then set a major

into a maelstrom of passion." You had the first niggling suspicion that something had been gained in the the dance, Sometimes I Wonder, that it has inspired. It's the latest presentation from the Richard Alston Dance Company, now A coach tour of the Golden Mile bous with oil riggers. Most dramas boast one big bloke for general menacing-and-looming duties but did not speak English. The guide did not speak Russian but he on tour, and it has to live up to the success of their debut season last year. Izzy's is like a waterhole for migrat- pumped away gamely with his foot

The colours of innocence

David Hockney is a reluctant British superstar, but that doesn't stop him sticking his neck out, writes Rachel Barnes

AVID HOCKNEY was recently described as "the in-telligent anti-hero who brings innocence to the world and who takes on the burdens of knowledge without losing the freshness of his vision". Now that I have met him, this seems especially apt. I have never talked to a more reluctant superstar - nor a more innocent one. Yet, pick up last week's British papers and there he is, not merely submitting to publicity but generat-ing it. First he welghs into the Julia somerville photos-in-a-bath row with a defence of photographic beauty, brandishing a 1790 Fragonard painting as evidence. Then he attacks arts schools for neglecting to teach essential technical and craft skills.

Both could be seen as characteristically doughty defences of his twin ideals of beauty and innocence. "I think the world is a beautiful place and if we don't see it, we are a doomed species," he says. "I feel that my role as an artist is to try and overcome the sterility of despair."
The boy from Bradford remains one of the most celebrated British artists. But he has also had plenty of criticism. He has been accused of not being a "serious" artist; worse. of being a populist, as if bringing pleasure to so many must somehow be questionable. It doesn't seem to bother him. "The best thing my father taught me was not to worry

about what the neighbours think." Hockney appears particularly be mused by the fuss about his Royal Academy show, the first retrospective entirely devoted to his works on paper. "I'll soon be back in Los Angeles getting on with my work and no one pays much attention to me there. But I suppose my decision to leave England and live in the States was partly to escape this."

From his earliest days at Bradford College of Art in the fifties, to what he calls his most recent "figurative abstractions", drawing has been an integral part of his art. At Bradford he was taught that drawing was a fundamental intellectual discipline. He is at best a brilliant and inspired draughtsman. His great friend R B Kitaj has described low he first met Hockney at the Royal College of Art in 1959 while he was working on a drawing of a skeleton. Kitaj was so impressed he instantiy asked if he could buy it for £5 — an unusual request from one

art student to another. Their lasting biendship has been mportant to the artistic development of both artists.

The first student I got to know was Ron Kitaj. We got on immedi-ately. Also, his paintings straight-away faschated me. He's about four years older than I am, which when you're 22 is a lot of difference, in experience anyway. He was a much more serious student than anybody else. He had a marvellous dry

Hockney was upset by the un-precedented attack on Kitaj by the iritish press during his retrospective at the Tate last summer. I told him to take no notice, but it was terribly hard for him because some of the criticism, was so personal. They a gloomy view of things. I know that Dayld Hockney. A Drawing all got the wrong idea of Ron—as if the world can be tragic place, and I. Retrospective at London's Royal he was some sort of aloof Intellect. Know about all the world, and folly. Academy, until January 28 the criticism was so personal, They



want to dwell on that in my paintings.

suppose in that way I come closer to

Matisse's philosophy of an art 'devoid

This hasn't stopped him explor

ing human relationships in his

work. The Walt Whitman poem

one of Hockney's early paintings

about homosexual love affairs. His

Third Love Painting caused a sensa-

tion and he was accused of flaunting

homosexuality. This, after all, was

"I certainly didn't make these

paintings on purpose to shock," he

says, the innocence bubbling up

again. "I don't believe people are re-

ally shocked by sex actually. I made

them because I was thinking about

my life, about being homosexual. Of

course I had known it for years but

I'd never done much about it. Being

gay didn't especially bother me. Why I should it?"

Yet, in the late eighties, when Clause 28 was floated, he caused a

stir by writing to newspapers attack-

ing what he saw as a new onslaught

on homosexuality. "I was so angry about the English petty-mindedness and intolerance. I had just finished

reading Richard Ellmann's marvel-

lous biography on Oscar Wilde and I thought, nothing changes. Wilde

must have been the most charming,

intelligent, and generous man. He

did no harm, The boys he went to

bed with would have had a nice time. But the English system com-pletely destroyed him."

He is equally exasperated by the British neglect of visual education.

Everyone has the potential of look-

world about us. But you have to be

nelped to look. I think it's a very bad

thing people aren't made to study art, Whole generations of people in

England had no visual education and i

you can see the results all around us.

deep pleasure and a part of every,

one's life, I do not think we can live

without art of some form. I think I

would be quite mad without it."

"I do believe that art should be a

1960, when it was still illegal.

of troubling subject matter'.

Portrait of the artist as an angry older man, ranting against the pening of beauty and the sacrifice of skills PHOTO: HUMPHREY NEMAL

isolated maybe but that's partly because, like me, he's quite deaf. It makes you more internal, more cut

"It was so destructive - it was typical of the mean spirit of British art critics. The role of the critic should be to enthuse and elucidate I don't want to read Ruskin or Manet because he didn't like Manet and so he had nothing interesting t say about him, Ruskin on Turner i marvellous, though, because he loved and understood his work."

It was while Hockney was at the Royal College of Art in 1959 that he started to experiment with the



Jean No 3' from 1984

American Abstract Expressionism But an art so rooted in a mystical abstraction would never exert a profound or lasting hold on a man, whose art inclines far more to the tally a figurative artist, though h has algualled a change to his belief that abstract and figurative art are widely differing. "Are there two different kinds of painting?" he asks. The old Chinese sage painter would have said No. It is all one, It's either all an abstraction or all repre-

sentation;
"It isn't that I don't appreciate artists like Rothko. He told his truth. But Rothko was a Russian and he had

Director's cruel cut

CINEMA Derek Malcolm

ERARD Corbiau's Farinelli Il Castrato is a musical extravaganza based on the life of Carlo Broschi, one of the last and most celebrated castrato singers of the 18th century.

It's a glamorously dressed period piece, with considerable erotic content and with wide appeal to music lovers. Above all, it has a potentially ascinating story, since Broschi, who took the name Farinelli, was the contemporary equivalent of a rock star, adored by women and envied by men because of, or in spite of, his painfully illustrated castration at the age of 10.

The result, it must be said, is entertaining but uneven since the film clearly embroiders the truth with considerable gusto, shaping it into a romantic melodrama which libels Handel and makes Amadeus, by comparison, seem a model of historical accuracy

Its main virtue is technical, with a successful marriage by the use of kilful morphing of the countertenor of Derek Lee Ragin with the soprano of Ewa Mallas-Godlewska to produce the soaring sounds of the man who so fluttered the hearts of the court ladies of the day that they were said to be prone to reach or gasm when he hit his top notes.

The music used is from Handel, Pergolese, Porpora, JA Hasse and Riccardo Broschi — Farinelli's brother - and it is set out in front of us in rather piecemeal fashion like display pieces on a "best of" music

In this romanticised version of nistory, Farinelli makes his debut in s Naples square, in competition with trumpet player totally unable to reach the same heights. Later, he is invited by Handel to sing before the English court. He then deserts Handel and Covent Garden when the beautiful Alexandra (Elsa Zylberstein) persuades him to sing for the rival Nobles Theatre instead. He realises, however, that Handel

s the man and determines to perform his new score, stolen by Alexandra, now his lover. Handel swears he will never compose an-

Finally, in self-imposed exile and etirement with Alexandra at the Spanish court, a surprising pregnancy occurs. It is surprising to the world but not to us, since the women Farinelli beds are seduced with the assistance of his brother who finishes off what the singer begins but can't end. A top note or two might have done the trick even better.

This opportunity to give the film a bit of spice is taken with both hands, to say nothing of other organs, by Corbiau and his actors — Stefano Dionisi as a pouting but deliciously ffete-looking Farinelli, could make Boy George green with envy.

What you certainly can say about Farinelli is that it is a European film that looks and sounds a treat and is ever ponderous.

Mario Van Peebles's previous films, New Jack City and Posse, hardly suggested that he could accomplish a dramatised history of he Black Panther movement. But anther is taken from an unpublished screenplay by his father Melvin, who made the seminal black movie Sweet Sweetback's Baadassss Song and is more likely

o know what he is talking about. The film, however, has not been well received among Panther veterins. The reason is obvious. It is politically naive and promulgates some conspiracy theories that

would amaze even Oliver Stone. But at least it is a watchable commercial offering that attempts, however simplistically, to tell young blacks (and whites) about their own recent history. Unfortunately, the characters are almost all stereotyped, black and white alike, and the Im is cast in the mould of a docudrama pushing highly selective old footage at us at the same time as providing a plethora of highly per-

sonalised fiction.

So you have to take what you get and swallow hard. And what you get is a rough and ready political thriller acted out by some handsome princi-pals like Kadeem Hardison, Bo-keem Woodbine, Courtney B Vance (as Seale) and Marcus Chong (New-

Leicester University

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THE QUEEN'S



The Missionary Position by Christopher Hitchens Verso 98pp £9.95

M

OTHER TERESA likens herself to "a pencil in God's hands". Depending on your beliefs, this is either a wonder or an absurdity. Assuming that Mother Teresa is right, the ultimate author of her book can be none other than God. Not just ghosted, but Holy Ghosted, then. As the title promises, He keeps it simple. God, we discover, "loves a cheerful giver". Families who pray together, stay together. Suffering "is a great

If so, Christopher Hitchens's little tirade will make a desirable Christmas present for any devout Catholic. In his fourth assault upon Mother Teresa's reputation, now coarsely titled and timed to cause the utmost offence to her admirers, he introduces himself as a spokesman for the Enlightenment, guided by the "poor candle of reason" to expose the shifty operator concealed beneath that innocent-looking wimple; to deride our beatification of a woman who should properly, he argues, be regarded as "a religious fundamentalist, a political operative, a primitive sermoniser and accomplice of worldly secular powers".

Holy pencil or wily international fixer? Neither book is likely to make converts, one way or the other. The Simple Path, written for devotees, and packaged as a small octavo, like the Pope's own book, is a sort of auto-hagiography, composed of assorted homilies, prayers, fragments of biography and radiant testi-monies from Mother Teresa's followers. It has the pat sketchiness convenient to a life of a saint. "The message was quite clear," she relates, "I was to give up all and follow Jesus into the slums — to serve him in the poorest of the poor." Mother Teresa went a little further than that. When she dies she will leave behind a 4,000-strong religious order, the Missionaries of Charity, who embrace poverty in more than 500 convents and more than 100

Her followers' devotion to penury serves two purposes. One is to bring the poor closer to God. The other is to bring the missionaries closer to God. The object is not, emphatically, to improve the conditions that created the poor in the first place. To Mother Teresa, the poor are part of God's plan, so any attempts to vanquish poverty are implicitly critical of Him.

To a non-believer, this pious deight in suffering can sound creepy. Who are the real beneficiaries of the Mother Teresa organisation? The stories of her volunteers suggest tions are, as much as anything, a the anchoress. focus for personal development. "I've found peace," says one. "I just

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PHOTOGRAPH: DENIS THORPE

her faith. Hitchens's reorimands

cannot but give the curious impres-

better Catholic, presumably not the effect he seeks. "Modesty and

humility are popularly supposed to

be the saintly attributes," he says, as

genuinely anxious about her

redentials for canonisation, "yet

Mother Teresa can scarcely grant

an audience without claiming a spe-

cial and personal relationship with

He reports, as if scandalised, that

the Missionaries of Charity covertly

baptise the dying, under the guise

f brow-mopping. What else do you

expect a good missionary to do?

Can he be worried that a Hindu or

Muslim might be dispatched to the

wrong Heaven? Or is he sincerely

concerned about such an affront

being offered to the personal liber-

ties of the destitute? His suggestion

that she misuses her funds is more

promising; for even Catholics might

protest if Mother Teresa were

proved to be laying up treasure on

Earth while patients in her hospices

and clinics are subjected to point-

lessly Spartan indignities and de-

nied effective medication. But

Hitchens has no idea how much

money she has, nor how it is allo-

cated and spent. He finds it equally

difficult to substantiate his graves

allegation: that Mother Teresa has

served both God and Mammon,

deliberately lending her saintly

reputation to a repulsive gallery of

of embarrassing photographs and speeches fails to establish that she

is anything worse than a holy sim-

pleton, steadfastly, if deludedly, uns-

elective in her choice of chums and

donors, from Madame Michelle Du-

Hitchens is right to argue that

even living saints should have their

conduct scrutinised without awe

and reverence". But after several

valler to Robert Maxwell.

remembered model, derived from | years on the job, he still has little to

Victorian illustrations, of a saint as a offer fellow-doubters beyond endur-

fainting milksop? As Mother Ter ing suspicion and distaste.

esus Christ."

sion that he considers himself the

Mother Teresa: 'Holy pencil' or 'wily fixer'?

me," says another. Without any tes-

timony from the poor of the world,

we cannot know how it feels to be

used as a sort of holy alternative to

the poorest of the poor, you don't

care what motivates the nuns, so

long as they come up with the clean

So Christopher Hitchens is per-

haps unfair in condemning Mother

Teresa for using the poor as an "oc-

casion for piety". As he has not as-

certained how the poor feel about it,

he is arguably using them himself

as an occasion for polemic. But his

ther than this. Henping invective

upon obloquy, he complains that

she is motivated by a reprehensible

desire for sainthood; the political

agent of fundamentalist factions in-

side the Vatican; the willing accom-

plice of wicked political regimes,

and too virginal to deserve a hear-

ing. In short, he objects to her being

■ OW COULD God's pencil

possibly appeal to the poor candle of reason? Hitchens

is rational; Mother Teresa is super-

stitious. He believes in the right to

abortion; she, not unusually for a

Catholic, believes that it is the worst

evil in the world. He deplores the

Vatican; she is its willing factotum.

To deny Mother Teresa the right

publicly to pronounce and practise

her beliefs is to deny her any form

As he cannot, reasonably, argue

against freedom of conscience,

Hitchens attempts a critique of

Mother Teresa's personal motives

and conduct, suggesting, for exam-

ple, that she is not truly meek, but

ambitious and arrogant. But many

saints have been obnoxious.

Perhaps Hitchens himself is full of

prejudice, working with a dim, half-

of religious vocation beyond

a devout, proselytising nun.

objections to Mother Teresa go fur-

clothes and free sandwiches.

psychotherapy. Maybe, when you're

knew what I was doing was right for | esa's conduct is inseparable from

Blake Morrison reelancing: Adventures of a Poet by Hugo Williams

Faber 241pp £14.99

UMILIATION is the invariable lot of poets, but each poet, and each new generation of poets, learns to be lumiliated in different ways. Born with a gift, or sense of vocation, or unhappy compulsion to turn lines before they reach the edge of the page, poets gradually discover that writing verse is no kind of life, or livelihood: in order to survive, they have to get out occasionally and do something - however demeaning. Once they performed for rich patrons. These days, they fill the gaps between stanzas by running workshops, giving readings or writing reviews of other poets.

In Freelancing, Hugo Williams narrates his adventures as a suc-cessful but humbled poet. "Everyone knows poets will go anywhere and do anything in order to get out of the house," he writes, "providing there's a drink and seven people in the audience, only four of whom are friends of the organiser." Near the start of the book, Williams describes a typical excursion of his own. He is due to teach a workshop in South Acton but leaves his Pomagne bottle and poetry books on a station platform. Miraculously, when he backtracks, the books are still there, but have fallen into the hands of a railway guard who insists on a literary-critical seminar ("correct me if I'm wrong, but isn't a sentence supposed to have a verb?") before releasing them. Arriving at his class an hour late, Williams several students already drunk. One is a Welshman who can't understand the tutor's objec-

hole in his plastic cup and Pomagne is running down his trousers . . . Further humiliations follow Williams runs another residential

tions to his poem about a kitten.

The tutor tries to explain. The other

students support the Welshman.

The tutor backs down. There is a

ble Versace jacket and Armani suit order to beat a writing block and spends a terrified hour in a Bethnal Green high-rise. If getting out from behind his desk proves risky, staying there sn't much safer. There are the files of old poems so bad he contemplates packing in writing altogether. There are the builders gutting the house next door, who stare curiously up at his window, as if he were in need of treatment for "sloth infes-

tation". In offering up his shame

and embarrassment, Williams

doesn't ask us to think any better or

ance and poetic manner. He makes

a television documentary about

Central America, but so alienates

the crew that they will shoot only

his trousers. He models for Esquire

- a feature on fashionable make

poets - but plucks out an incompat

worse of him, merely to understand that this is what his life is like. It's doubtful, of course, how far Williams's are typical experiences, even among writers of his gener ation. Not many poets are married to tight-rope walkers. And only Williams, you feel, would tempor arily abandon his old typewriter and take a word processor on holiday to a cottage in France with a single power-point ("The fridge had to be off while the computer was on, so my wife would sit typing away, her feet in the salad compartment, while a puddle of water formed round her

Much here will be recognisable even to those for whom poetry isn't a regular habit: the readings organised by men with eyes red from crying and women with garlands in their hair, who "have just taken over from someone who committed sui cide"; the workshops full of students who have been to Afghanistan or had sexual experiences with ghosts: the man who passes himself off as Ted Hughes to carn gropes from groupies. With his insider knowle edge and wry detachment, Hugo Williams is the perfect comic guide to what it means to be a poet in the



Matt Seaton

Marked for Life by Paul Magrs Chatto & Windus 217pp £12.99

"A BSOLUTELY cynical and absolutely sentimental at the same time. That's the combination we like." declares one of Paul Magre's characters in Marked For Life. This is close to authorial statement, since it lefines more than adequately Magre's own approach to writing. It could almost be a manifesto for his brand of queer street-toughness and mawkish romanticism — it could, if his novel didn't énd up being just

good old camp. Nevertheless, Marked For Life opens with an intriguing roster of characters: Mark, tattooed from head-to-toe and married to the volatile and foul-mouthed clothes shop manager; Samantha; their alert young daughter, Sally; Samantha's eccentric mother, Peggy and her

a latter-day version of Virginia Woolf's Orlando; Samantha's bl on-the-side, the stolid policema Bob; and Mark's ex-lover, the mysterious Tony, who pretends to write to Mark from prison.

If the cost-list sounds colour ul, then the plot, too, is ambitious: Tony kidnaps Sally and the rest join in a Carry On-style ensemble effort to restore Sally to her parents and reconstitute their shaky, gender-bent partnership. Magra seems to be alm ing at black comedy, but Tony doesn't really cut it as a villain. So the dark stuff simply isn't into melodrama and finally into faggy bedroom farce.

The writing is so keen to draw ittention to itself that the novel as a whole has a surface gloss, t kind of prose polyurethane. But i one can put aside the problem characters who are predomina sexual types pressed out of cart board, then there are real flashed of wit. One could say the same of course, about Puss In Bodis but then that doesn't pretend to lover Iris, who imagines herself be anything other than a panto

Paperbacks 8 4 1

GUARDIAN WEEKLY

Nicholas Lezard

ketches by Boz, by Charles Dickens (Penguin Classics,

MAZINGLY, hitherto unpub-A MAZINGLY, mure as lished by Penguin Classics. Here are the youthful roots of Dickens's fiction: a collection of portraits and observations, arranged so that by the end of the book Dickens is actually writing short stories, but with the join between fiction and reportage polished to invisibility.

One Hot Summer in St Petersburg, by Duncan Fallowell (Vintage, £6.99)

FALLOWELL went to St Peters-burg to write a novel. He came out with this instead, and it will do very nicely. A travel book driven by insight and style, rather than by event, which means that even the most mundane occurrences are given a certain power. And the place is such a mess that there's usually something wacky going on. What's a kilometre long and plays chess? The St Petersburg petrol queue.

Six Walks in the Fictional Woods, by Umberto Eco (Harvard University Press, £6.50)

A FEY TITLE for the Charles Eliot Norton lectures Eco delivered in 1993, and a chance to see Eco do what he is best at: his novels, with the one famous exception. tend towards unreadability, and his comic journalism is at best hit-andmiss. But these talks on what authors are getting up to, and what we get up to while reading them, are eugaging and useful

łusseli's Blg Strip Stupermarket, by Pete oveday (John Brown

RUSSELL underachieving but thoughtful, mildly depressive. ind usually stoned, is a likeable caroon creation. (He's at his best less wordy — in The Idler.) If you want to know about soft-druggy lifestyles, New Agers and hippies, you couldn't do better than read this

The Qetaway; The Killer Inside Me; The Grifters; Pop. 1,280; by Jim Thompson, int. Tim Willocks (Picador, £7.99)

WOU MIGHT know Thompson's work second-hand: several of his novels have been filmed, as have all four in this collection — most memorably The Grifters and Sam Peckinpah's version of The Getaway but it's not the usual case of mediocre fiction making great cinema. Getting inside the criminal mind, Thompson is top of the pulp league, rivalling Chandler in psychological insight if not fancy prose.

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Pat Barker wins the Booker Prize

claimed its capacity for surprise this year when the udges rejected Salman Rushdie, the hottest favourite in the 27-year history of Britain's most important

Instead, they went for Pat Barker's The Ghost Road, the final part in her trilogy about the first world war. Until moments before the prize was announced this had not been a good year for controversy, with the best the panel could rustle up being the exclusion of Martin Amis from a shortlist of five, one fewer than the traditional

HE BOOKER PRIZE re-

Michael Ellison

iterary award.

The choice of Barker was "amicable", in contrast to last year when one judge said James Kelman's victory was a disgrace. The other writer in contention was the outsider Tim Winton with The Riders. Rushdie smiled thinly and nodded when Barker's triumph was announced. "It's always disappointing not to win but Pat Barker is a very line writer who deserves it." he

George Walden, the Conserva-tive MP who chaired the judges, said of Barker's book: "The focus is on individuals and yet the book opens out into a masterly panorama of the first world war. The psychological analysis is as powerful as the emotional intensity."

Barker, aged 52, who won the

went to grainmar school.

1918, relates the slaughter of the war through two men, one returning to the front after shell shock, the other

Guardian fiction prize two years ago, wrote three unpublished "middle-class novels of manners" before the late Angela Carter advised her to draw on her background. "I realised I could and should write about the kind of women and community that formed me." Her grandmother, mother and sister had been

brought up by grandparents whose | is in the pity." Wilfred Owen wrote Teesside fish and chip shop failed, | these words in the context of poetry having to deal with a new subject The Ghost Road, set in August

(mass warfare), rather than the birds, trees and flowers of the prewar Georgian aesthetic. the psychologist who treated him.

Giles Foden adds: "My subject is

The poet plays a bit part in Pat Barker's The Ghost Road. Owen is a fellow patient of the narrator Billy War, and the Pity of War. The Poetry | Prior at Craiglockhart Hospital, run



Pat Barker, the 'amicable' choice who won the £20,000 Booker cleaners but Barker, who was Prize at the London Guildhall last week

by an army psychologist, William Rivers, The book is part of Barker's war trilogy: Regeneration (1991) charted Owen's friend Siegfried Sassoon's recuperation at Craiglockhart; The Eye In The Door (1993) compared Sassoon's experience with that of Prior, a bisexual working-class officer.

In The Ghost Road, Prior, returning to France in 1918, seems an "uncharitable bastard" as he puts it; at least in the brutal male and female sexual liaisons he packs in before he is due back at the front.

Just as sexuality works along spectrum, so human sensibility in the face of war cannot be divided into "officer" or "Tommy", "enemy" or "ally"; nor can the shell-shock victim be labelled "sane" or "mad". "My nerves are in perfect working order," Prior writes to Rivers. "By which I mean that in my present situation the only sane thing to do is to run away, and I will not do it. Test

The carnal wit of Prior's voice marks out The Ghost Road as an important book. With his divided sexual and class loyalties, he seems a very contemporary figure, yet also a fitting monument to the mounds of historical dead. It is the casual shovelling away of the blasted bodies that counts; to have recognised this. and the pity of this, is Pat Barker's

 This year marks the 30th anniversary of the Guardian Fiction Award. which is given annually to a new work by a British or Commonwealth novelist. The 1995 shortlist is made up of The Information by Mentin Amis (Flamingo, £15.99), Heart's Journey In Winter by James Buchan (Harvill, £14.99), The Unconsoled by Kazuo Ishiguro (Faber, £15.99), The Ghost Road by Pat Barker (Viking, £15), The Smell Of Apples by Mark Behr (Abacus, £8.99) and The Moor's Last Sigh by Salman Rushdie (Cape, £15.99). The winner of the £2,000 prize will be announced at the beginning of December.

Distant visions of a generous heart

John Mullan

Raymond Williams: The Life by Fred Inglis Routledge 324pp £19.99

N ONE of the many affectionate recollections of Raymond Williams that enliven this biography, a friend of his wife, Joy, remembers why he left the Communist Party in the early forties. Other intellectuals of the left would renounce the CP only when the Soviet Union's tanks rumbled into one of its satellite states (and sometimes not even

Williams, however, abandoned long before the crises of faith of the fifties and sixties. He did so when Cambridge aparatchiks inquired after the ideological suitability of his then flancée. Their interest in his marriage plans was quite enough to turn him away from the party. The personal was certainly not going to

than once, why he is writing this book. For he has chosen a subject largely protected from blography: a man whose private self was quietly but fiercely defended from all intrusions. The very characteristic that seemed to make Williams such a commanding and necessary intel-

an apparently unperturbed dis- | tions in 1962, providing media studtance from those who admired him. (These included his students: in the sixties, protesting undergraduates occupied his Cambridge rooms, refusing to leave until he agreed to teach them.) He was influential, says Inglis, because, at times when "turbulent feelings" drove other socialists. he had "a gift for indifference".

This distance gave a quality to his work, undistracted by local squabbles. It permitted the "generoushearted vision of a common culture" that made Culture And Society and The Long Revolution such influential texts in the sixties (setting the agenda, as Inglis points out, for the first Open University courses). They were books for their times, envisaging a society's more democratic senses of culture, yet reaching back through 150 years to trace "the lost veins of English romantic

skilled at imagining future consen-The story suggests why Fred In-glis finds himself wondering, more of his fellow-socialists. In a telling sus somewhere beyond the ructions digression, he says that Williams was the best committee chairman he ever knew — gifted at reconcil-ing "the often violently conflicting emotions and opinions around the table". He means it as high praise.

The aloomess imposed its limitations, sometimes comically. It was subject for the biographer. He kept should have written Communica-

ies with "its first, and forever essential, textbook". Perhaps few of his readers have realised that this analysis of the roles of press, radio and television in the formation of culture was written by a man who, at the time, did not take a newspaper or have a television. All his important work seems to have been produced in confident solitude.

Thus, Inglis believes, he had the good fortune to be drawn only belatedly by the Marxism that beguiled his contemporaries. His thinking was fed by the values of his workingclass father, and the arguments rehearsed with the Workers' Education Association - teaching the Great Tradition in Sussex Nissen huts (though with the time off for writing that any academic would envy). Inglia sees how Williams could use this past to avoid explaining himself and he is scathing about the account of Williams's own development he gave in Politics And Letters in 1979. Yet he is also a partisan for Williams's sense of "idealism and vocation", his work for a widened access to culture.

Inglis cannot help respecting Williams's powers of "elusiveness and concealment" ("clenched withdrawal" is Terry Eagleton's less sympathetic phrase). So he has writlectual figure for the British left | natural that Williams, with his inter- but an abbreviated biography of also makes him an unpromising est in the ordinariness of culture, British left-intellectual debate since 1945. As such it is consistently

melancholy, as well as being heartfelt and engaging. As he documents Williams's involvement in the founding of the New Left Review, the composing of the May Day Manifesto of 1967, or the confused reactions of the left to rightwing populism in the eiglities, he ruefully chronicles the self-delusions, and above all the foolish self-righteousness, of socialist ntellectuals in Britain.

As he does so, he is often harsh on aspects of Williams's own work. This biography may be "an act of homage", but, in order to reclaim his books for "a long canon of humanism", he constantly worries at their failures; their escapes into abstraction; the often "dreary prose" of even the most "humane inquirles". Inglis had to write a biography because he believes that Williams celebrated "civic virtues" n "his life, more than his books". In this commitment are the sadness and honesty which characterise this book. With what Inglis calls the that socialists have made of history, he must turn to the "moral example" of an individual life. Biography must be our guide.

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Chess Leonard Barden

one grandmaster has ever died in combat. He was the most promsing young player of his time, a rare talent who might have seriously challenged for the world title.

Klaus Junge was killed in action in April 1945, aged 21. Four years earlier, he tied for the German championship, and on the Nazi tournament circuit of 1941-42 was the near-equal of world champion Alekhine and the then number two. Keres. He defeated Alekhine once, while at Prague 1942, his last tournament before military call-up, Alekhine needed a brilliancy in their final-round game to tie first with the

Today several 17- and 18-yearolds play at the highest level, but in the thirties the young GMs were in their twenties before they matched Alekhine and Capablanca, Junge was probably the strongest ever of his age until Fischer and Spassky set new teenage records.

His style was impressive, too, combining sharp opening theory with tactically rich middle games. In this week's game, Junge knowedgeably uses a variation made famous by Botvinnik, whose world title he might have taken had he

Heinz Lehmann-Klaus Junge, Rostock 1942

1 d4 d5 2 c4 e6 3 Nc3 c6 4 Nf3 Nf6 5 Bg5 dxc4 6 e4 b5 7 e5 h6 8 Bh4 g5 9 Nxg5 hxg5 10 Bxg5 Nbd7 11 Q/3 Bb7 12 Be2 Rg8 13 h4 Qb6 14 exf6 c5 15 d5 b4 16 Bxc4 bxc3 17 dxe6 cxh2 18 Rb1 Rxg5 19 exf7+ Kd8 20 Qc3 Rxg2 21 Rxb2 Qc7 22 Rh3 Rg1+ 23 Ke2 Bg2 24 Rg3 Bf1+ 25 Kd1 Qd6+ 26 Rd2 Qxg3 27 fxg3 Bd3

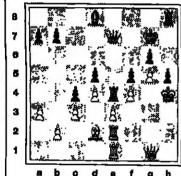
A new German book provides fresh details of Junge's death, which was previously dated April 17, 1945, at Welle, 30 miles south fighting just south of Welle, where | by Rg5! threatening Qg3+.

MESS is a war game, but only | their attack began only on the

There, says an eyewitness account, Lieutenant Klaus I (probably a mistake for J - Junge was an ardozen scattered soldiers. Civilians offered them milk, then left the town. Lieutenant I conveyed the impression that "he still wanted to win the war".

When the first tanks rolled in they were shot at but Lieutenant l and two other soldiers were killed. All three were buried in the cemetery. The Welle cemetery register shows only one lieutenant buried there, so it is probably Junge. Most world-class chess players

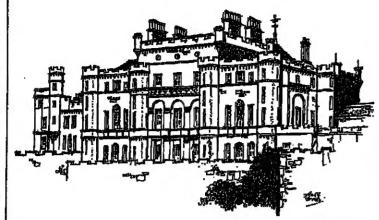
are instinctive survivors. Alekhine wangled his way out of post-revolution Russia to further his career in the West; Korchnoi used ration books of dead relatives to survive the siege of Leningrad. Junge chose idealistic bravery, but even by patriotic criteria he was wrong. If he had surrendered or gone home to Hamburg, he would have been a western rival to the Soviet GMs by the early fifties, and postwar chess history might have been very different.



Larry Evans v Nikola Karaklaic. Reggio Emilia 1962. What should Black play next?

of Hamburg. On the 17th, most of | No 2395: 1 Rh8! mates quickly. the British 7th tank division was After White's 1 Rc6?? Black can win

Grace and favour



Colin Luckhurst

ULZEAN CASTLE. standing high atop the west-facing Ayrshire cliffs, is Robert Adam's gracious sandstone building, commissioned by the Earl of Cassillis. whose descendants occupied it for several generations until mounting debt and death duties persuaded the family to pass it into the care of the National Trust for Scotland in 1945.

It was here, in the Brewhouse Flat at the foot of the west wing. that we spent the October halfterm week. Our shepherdess is engaged in the instruction of the young, and this necessarily con-ditions the timing of our occasional escapes from The

The views from Culzean are sensational. From the window we looked out to Arran, the highest peak of which, Goat Fell, was wreathed in mist on an afternoon of still airs. Beyond Arran, the long arm of

the Mull of Kintyre stretches outhwards towards the distant coast of Ulster, which lies low on the horizon. The great bulk of Ailsa Craig loomed out of internittent mist just down the coast. By night, the number of flashing ighthouses acted as a reminder of the volume of sea traffic, from needs to survey the contemporary Scottish brewers, describes their practice as "waving a small bag of hops over the vat every other week".

The discovery of a gas works showed that at its heyday in the 19th century the castle was almost a small town in its own right. Coal was landed on the beach by a Clyde puffer and carted up to the gas works at the beach head. The gas house manager, who enjoyed residential benefits of an adjoining cottage, supervised the produc tion, storage and distribution of the gas supply to the castle and its residents 200ft above him un

The production process started with coking the newly landed coal in the retorts. The iob is illustrated in an action cameo in the restored gas house funded by British Gas. With butiers, footmen, cooks, malds gardeners, coachmen and their families, as well as the resident family of the Earl of Cassillis. things must have been pretty

busy at Culzean in its Victorian

the cliff.

golden age.

→ UR LATE October week co-incided with the rutting season. The bellows of the dominant stag in the deer park, a finely antiered specimen, echoed through the woodland. The hinds shivered with no doubt pleasurable anticipation of his attentions, and an immature rival sheltered in the furthest reaches of the

The gardens, washed by mild maritime air, were a tribute to perimposed portrait of the young the possibilities of the Scottish garden — the palm trees which line Fountain Court lawn were host to the tiny goldcrest, no larger than the wren but with nal occupant brewed beer for the dramatic yellow head marking. was able to identify them with the aid of a 1927 Oxford Handbook Of British Birds which lay in the book case -- at good as any more up-to-date volume and with artwork better than some recent books.

Sports Diary Shiv Sharma

GUARDIAN WEEKLY

Venables backed

LAIMS by England football coach Terry Venables that he is a victim of an overhead West 2000 The United States won the he is a victim of an orchestrated smear campaign are being investigated by Scotland Yard, They are expected to send a report to the Crown Prosecution Service within the next few days.

Police confirmed that investigations were taking place and that up to four people could be charged with conspiracy to pervert the course of justice.

The Football Association continues to keep its faith in him. The chairman of the FA's international committee, Noel White, responding



cnables: remains FA's first choice despite new probe

to a report that an unnamed committee member had voiced disquiet about the coach's continuing court actions, said: "In January 1994 Terry Venables was our choice as the man to lead our effort. He remains that choice today."

However, it is understood that if anything is proved against Venables his job may still be in jeopardy.

One former occupant of the England hot seat looking for work is Graham Taylor, who resigned his post as manager of Wolverhampton Wanderers on Monday. Taylor expressed his regret that his tenure at Molineux had not proved successful, citing the hostility of a section of he crowd as a contributing factor in nis decision to quit.

A N APPEAL by Duncan Fergu-son against a 12-match ban has been rejected by the Scottish Football Association. Everton had hoped the SFA would show leniency after the striker was jailed for three months following an on-field assault on Raith Rovers' John McStay when laying for Rangers. However, the ribunal did decide to start the ban mmediately and not on November 22, when Ferguson is likely to be reeased from prison. "It seems vindiclive to me," Peter Johnson, the Everton chairman, said. "The tribunal had a good opportunity to redress the situation." The club are considering going to the ourt of Human Rights.

Meanwhile England international Paul Gascoigne is to be the subject of an investigation by police in Scot-land following allegations of violence committed by the Rangers midfielder during his club's match at the weekend against Aberdeen that left opponent Paul Bernard requiring six stitches in his chin. Gascoigne claimed that he was

World Cup of Golf at Shenzhen, China, for the fourth successive year with a 33-under-par total of 543 for a 14-shot victory over Robert Allenby and Breit Ogle of Australia. Scotland shared third place with Japan. Love clinched a double triumph when he won the individual event on the fifth hole of a dramatic play-

off with Japan's Hisayuki Sasaki. "It was a goal of mine to win the individual - it is the only thing I have not done in this tournament," said Love. "Fred won last year and now we have one each."

In Dar es Salaam, Nick Price won the £65,000 King Hassan II Trophy. It was the world No 3's first win of

THE SPANISH sun is shining on British cycling star Jeremy Hunt. He will join the five-times Tour de France winner Miguel Indurain's Banesto team next year. "We have been following him all season," said Indurain's manager, Francis Lafargue. "We have been really impressed with him." The 21year-old Hunt is the first Briton to turn professional alongside a reigning Tour winner.

RUSSELL COUTTS of New Zealand and Isobel Antissier of France have been named World Sailors of the Year. They were chosen by voters from more than 60 countries. Coutts was skipper of New Zealand's Black Magic, 5-0 winner of the America's Cup, and Autissier is the first women to win a leg of the BOC single-handed race round the world. She took the first. from Charleston to Cape Town, 1,200 nautical miles ahead of the next competitor.

27th second of the fourth round at Halifax to retain his European and Commonwealth super-middleweight titles. Wharton finished the contest with a huge left hook that sent Storey crashing to the canvas.

NGLAND'S Del Harris, the for-mer world junior squash chamrecord seventh title of Khan, overtaking the six he shared with Jahangir Khan, 🕙

British tennis star Tim Henman ame to an end when he was beaten 7-6, 6-3 by Joao Cunha-Silva of Portugal in the semi-finals of the ATP challenger tournament in Beijing.

Rugby Union International Wales 19 Fiji 15

Tourists decry Welsh fear of flying

Robert Armstrong in Cardiff

HE Jonathan Davies factor and another testing friendly against Italy lie intriguingly ahead of Wales before this season's Five Nations tournament, but on Saturday they put a dismal losing streak behind them and almost certainly secured the caretaker Ken Bowring in the job of national

Characteristically Wales flirted with disaster — and even fell behind 13-15 in the second half - but sufficient basic organisation has been lustilled by Bowring, and the defence was equal to a fearsome late Fijian

Perhaps as a sign of the times Neil Jenkins, who scored an opportunist try and kicked three penalty goals, also made a major contribu-

> As Wales's captain John Humphreys pointed out: "We had nine players taking part in their first international at the Arms Park and they coped very well." Fiji ought to have reached 20

points without fuss but their goalkicker Waqa missed a penalty and a conversion close to the posts. Likewise Wales might have scored four | Wales the ideal start with a seventh-minute try from the base of a scrum tries instead of two: on one occasion they were denied because of a double movement, on another they failed to get the ball down.

Brad Johnstone, Fiji's technical coach, criticised Wales for lack of enterprise. "Welsh players won't try anything with an element of risk because they're afraid of making mistakes," he said. "The problem is rooted in club rugby where the coaches and the players are afraid they will get it in the neck if they move the ball and then end up losing three games in a row. The end result is predictable rugby."

Johnstone's strictures apart, Wales have reasons for optimism, especially the performances of their new caps, the flanker Craig Quinnell and the prop Lyndon Mustoe, who were boldly competitive and effective at close quarters against powerful opponents. Moreover, when the centre Nigel Davies went off injured in the first half Aled Williams came on at fly-half and the

The scrum-half Andy Moore gave

to midfield.

flexible Jenkins switched smoothly

minute try from the base of a scrum in the left corner. Ten minutes later Fiji were penalised for a late tackle on the edge of the box and Jenkins tapped quickly and darted over in the left corner.

However, Fiji were allowed off the hook on the half-hour when Tavlor threw out a loose pass intended for Evans which was intercepted by Bari, who sprinted 50 metres to score at the posts. Shortly before half-time Waqa added a short penalty goal to his conversion to level the scores.

After 48 minutes Fiji scored a superb try when their full-back Rayasi burst between two defenders and sidestepped neatly to touch down. But in the end Jenkins's goalkicking, which included two 30-metre penalties, proved a bridge too far for the tourists. Fiji did the lap of honour but Wales just about deserved the spoils.

 Italy julted the Springboks when they rallied from 17-6 down to lead with a 15-point blitz in the opening 15 minutes of the second half in Rome, before the world champions moved up a gear to finish 40-21

France 22 New Zealand 15

France find answer blowing in the wind hosts before Philippe Saint-André

ian Malin in Toulouse

OCALS in France's rugby capial call the vent d'Autun, which blows through the city, "the wind of madness". On a day of unforgettable drama it tormented the All Blacks and swept France to a victory that barely seemed possible after a chaotic few weeks.

The posts at the Stadium Municipal were bent back like tuning forks in the teeth of the gale. Sean Fitzpairick, the All Blacks' captain, latally opted to play into the wind during the first half, allowing France to run up a 17-3 lead. Simon Culhane's four penalties after halftime helped the All Blacks claw back to within two points of their

brought the 35,000 crowd to its feet with the coup de grace, France's third try, 10 minutes from time. The deciding Test in Paris on Sat-

arday promises to be momentous. The French, a logical people, turned logic on its head. A row between their players over money and team selection, which boiled over with the resignation of their team manager Andre Herrero, galvanised the young side into a performance of passion and ferocity. The All Blacks vere almost cowed by the noise and ervour of the crowd.

Jonah Lomu, culogised in the match programme as "Le Michael Jordan du Rugby", has now played three times against France and always been on the losing side. For once he was a peripheral figure, coming into the game only rarely and then more as a back-row bulldozer as Zinzan Brooke fed the ball to him from the base of scrums.

France's two new 20-year-old centres, Richard Dourthe and Phomas Castaignède, were rocklike in defence and the latter, in his home town, kicked seven points, including a first-half penalty from inside his own half.

One abiding image was o Dourthe grabbing his opposite number Frank Bunce and showing him the scoreboard after Saint André's try. It was a cruel taunt but underlined the swagger and confi-dence of the Tricolores.

England strikes out alone for rugby shake-up

__toric showdown with France, Wales, Scotland and Ireland over the future of the Five Nations Championship.

ided his union's plan to hold the game's oldest tournament in May and make a potential £100 million from the sale of the television rights. But he admitted the need for hard bargaining with the other unions to make the idea a reality.

Hallett led the presentation of

and March, is likely to be opposed by the players, who with the four other unions have not yet been consulted.

ing the championship on successive Saturdays and Sundays in May is likely to be France, which has a long-standing agreement with TV to hold its national championship finals in May. "God about this," the chairman of the RFU's executive, John Jeavons-Fellows, said with a smile. "Perhaps all the unions will tell us to bugger off." Jeavons-Fellows, one of

England's representatives on the Five Nations committee, which next meets on December 12, will play a crucial part in the RFU's attempt to persuade its competitive partners that such a radical

make or break the RFU's blueprint, which also envisages English clubs participating in Continental competition next autumn.

☐ Division Two increased from 10 to 14 clubs and Division Three from 10 to 16 next season: ☐ The top four Division One clubs entered in a European tournament with the remaining six in an Anglo-Weish competition; D Players' contracts lodged at Twickenham, with cash channelled through headquarters. Players will not receive any part of a transfer fee; O A new national disciplinary

panel for sent-off players to correct imbalances in sentencing: change is in their interest.

The collective response of the players, who are forming a Rugby ☐ A pre-season Charity Shield match between the Courage and

Quick crossword no. 288

Across

- 1 Trouble (13) 8 Scull (3) 9 Elucidated (9) 10 Fume (8)
- 11 African wasteland (4) 13 Her gaze turned to stone (6)
- 16 It makes cloth — appear distinct (4) 17 Dissuaded (8)

14 Bell tower (6)

- 20 Widespread (9) 21 Hotel (3) 22 Peppermintflavoured liqueur (5,2,6)
- 2 Gas produced in breathing (6,7) 3 Unnecessary (8) 4 Detected (6) 5 Mohammedan

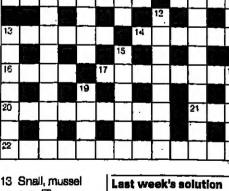
priest (4)
6 Mayerick (13)

7 Aged (7)

12 Army call to

awake (8)

Fetters (5) 18 Thick (5) 19 Yield (4)



e.g. (7) 15 Tenant (6)

A M D C O N U
MATZE CONCERN
B T A E A L O
TOYA APERITIF
D E P T C T

(Open) and Venice Cup (Women) were held in Beijing last month. A perfect combination of Chinese culure and hospitality with western technology and organisation ensured that the championships were. a resounding success. Beijing is a

Bridge Zia Mahmood

THE 1995 World Championships

for the Marlboro Bernuda Bowl

vast, bustling city of 13 million souls, and everything there is done on a grand scale. From the opening banquet eight courses of imperial Chinese uisine held in the Great Hall of the People in Tiananmen Square — it was clear that no effort would be spared to create a tournament of

spectacle and splendour. Bridge is growing in popularity at an amazing rate among the Chinese people. Their national teams, particularly their women, are fast making a name for themselves on the world stage. The closest of the quarter-final matches in the Bermuda Bowl was between France, the Olympic champions. and the host nation. It ended in a victory to France by just 3 IMPs, and that result would have been reversed but for this deal, which

be a riddle in the Zen philosophy which many Chinese follow: at one table, declarer played 3NT correctly to make 10 tricks, while at the other declarer played 2NT correctly to go one down! How is this possible? See for yourselves - love all, dealer South:

QJ6

the age of sail to the nuclear sub-

marine, which enters the Firth of

The Brewhouse Flat provided

pacious and, indeed, gracious

accommodation. It is one of

several possible lets within the

privilege of residence requires

ably some months ahead, and

We satisfied these prerequi-

through the generous bequest of

matching the scale and dignity of

castle above, gave a feeling of life

in a stately home. A fine feature of the flat furnishings was a long-

Marshall of Wishaw at a date in

our history which, from the su-

Victoria, could have been no

The name of the flat also of-

fered a reminder that the origi-

castle residents. At a guess, that

first resident concocted a malted

liquor which owes little to the

beneficial presence of the hop.

a drinks sector analyst with

respectable city brokers, who

A knowledgeable friend of mine,

later than 1842.

case clock made by A&M

a National Trust member and

the apartments on floors of the

sites and the Brewhouse Flat,

only that you be organised

pay the rent as required.

furnished in a heroic style

oundaries of the estate, and the

enough to make a booking, prob-

Clyde and its sheltering lochs.

♥853 + Q2 **◆**K8653 AK8 ¥AQ942 ♠ 0 7 4 **★ 1092** ¥K76 ♠ A K J 10

♣AJ2 · In the Closed Room, Michel Lebel for France opened 1NT as South, 15-17, and Philippe Cronier as North raised him to game. West, playing for his partner's hand, found versed but for this deal, which came three boards from the end of hearts and declarer had to take the match. The hand might almost | some tricks quickly. Lebel won the

king of hearts when East ducke he crossed to the queen of dis monds and played a club to the jack. and when that suit behaved kindly he took five clubs, four diamonds and a heart for 430 to France.

found himself with a completely d ferent problem to his counterpart out risking the club line

In the Open Room, Shao to China also opened 1NT, but Rong as North raised to only 2NT. South passed, and Michel Perron also led the jack of hearts. Paul Chemla ducked to declarer's king, and Shao the other table. He needed only eight tricks, and if he could establish a spade to go with a heart, four diamonds and two clubs, he would be able to make his contract with

Shao won the king of hearts and played a spade - but Chemia was able to win this and cash four hearts to go with his two top spades. S France scored 50 in this room to go with 430 in the other, a gain of I IMPs. Had Shao been in SNI, but would have made his contract in the same way as Lebel, and Chir would have won the match. Had followed an inferior line in 2NI, would have made that for a loss 6 just 6 IMPs, and again China wool

ENRY WHARTON knocked out Sam Storey of Belfast in the

punched and spat at during the was unavoidable as the ref had subgame but admitted that he "gave it mitted his report before the shoot." out as well".

has been given a one-match ban -nine days after he was gunned down outside a bar in southern Italy. The posthumous ban, say the officials." ing took place.

Robert Armstrong

EAD unlucky: Luigi Coluccio, a 23-year-old amateur footballer,

istan in the final of the World

HE recent run of victories for

pion, produced the performance of his life but was beaten 15-10, 17-14, 16-17, 15-8 by Jansher Khan of Pak-Squash Open in Nicosia. It was Harris's first final appearance but a

Blueprint for change

NGLAND is set for an his-The greatest obstacle to hold-

Last week Tony Hallett, the Rugby Football Union secretary

a special report on professionalism by the RFU's commission at Twickenham that will serve as a blueprint for the long-term future of English rugby. The most controversial of the commission's proposals, the shifting of the Five Nations from its dates in January, February

Other changes proposed are:

☐ The 120-day qualification rule reduced to seven days next